

2012 ■ VOLUME 59 ■ NUMBER 3

PIONEER

Celebrating THE 150th Anniversary
of
FORT DOUGLAS



Published by the Sons of Utah Pioneers

PIONEER

FEATURES

- 2 Camp Douglas:
Keeping a Watch-
ful Eye on Salt Lake
and the Saints
by Kenneth L. Alford

- 4 Camp Floyd
by Audrey M. Godfrey

- 17 The Union Vedette

- 20 The Fort Douglas Cem-
etry and Post Chapel

- 22 The Bear River Massacre:
Precursors and Aftermath
by Kenneth L. Alford;
New Historical Evidence
by Harold Schindler

- 26 Samuel Lane Jones

- 30 Patrick Connor: Utah's
Mining Hero and
Mormon Nemesis
by Robert S. Voyles

- 36 Brass Knuckles and
Billy Clubs: The Contro-
versial Arrest of Private
Frederick Bright, 1874
by Ephriam D. Dickson III

Cover: artwork by Lynn
Faucett on display at the
Fort Douglas Museum.

DEPARTMENTS

- 1 President's Message
by Richard O. Christiansen

- 27 Diary Entry
by Sergeant William L. Beach

- 29 Monuments & Markers:
The Bear River Massacre
Monument

- 39 Deseret Views:
Letters from Fort Douglas

- 40 Pioneer Vignettes:
"A Military Court Martial"
and "Did Brigham Young
cut down the flag-staff at
Fort Crittenden?"

- 41 SUP 2012 National
Convention

Back Cover
Poetry:
"October,"
*by Willis
Gaylord Clark*

PRESIDENT:

Richard O. Christiansen

PRESIDENT-ELECT:

David B. Wirthlin

PUBLISHER:

Kent V. Lott

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF &

MAGAZINE DESIGNER:

Susan Lofgren

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD:

Linda Hunter Adams

Dr. F. Charles Graves

Francis A. Madsen, Jr.

Tracy Keck, *editorial assistant*

WEBSITE:

www.sonsofutahpioneers.org

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:

3301 East 2920 South

Salt Lake City, Utah 84109

(801) 484-4441

E-mail: SUP1847@comcast.net

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Call

1-866-724-1847. For reprints
and back issues, contact SUP.
Published quarterly.

NOTICE: *Because of in-
creased printing and produc-
tion costs, the subscription
rates will be increased to
\$20 per year, or \$35 for a
two-year subscription, begin-
ning January 2013.*

*Between now and the end of
the year is an excellent time
to give gift subscriptions and
take advantage of the lower
rates!*

**Published by the Sons of
Utah Pioneers**

Pioneering yesterday, today, & tomorrow.

© 2012, trademark owned by the
National Society of the Sons of Utah
Pioneers.

Contents

President's Message

BY RICHARD O. CHRISTIANSEN

I am so excited to be able to read and even contribute to the history of Fort Douglas. It seems that my life has been intertwined with Fort Douglas in many ways over four decades. I feel the closeness in my bones and sinews, and I have loved every association and touch.

In September 1954, I arrived at the Fort Douglas reception center for new army recruits. I was nervous and uncertain about the future but knew that I should be in the army. There I was, 23 years old, three years as a returned missionary and two years of college complete, and I knew I was supposed to be in the army. I passed my physical examination, was sworn in, and bedded down for the night in building no. 102 on the circle at Fort Douglas. The next morning I was on a train bound for San Francisco. In San Francisco we transferred to buses headed down the coastal highway to Seaside, California, and Fort Ord army base. We were assigned to a basic training company in the 20th Infantry Regiment.

Uniforms were issued, including combat boots, and we each had our hair shaved off. Very early the next morning we were treated to making up bunks, cleaning the building, then hurrying outside for police call. For new recruits, that meant crawling on hands and knees over the area picking up cigarette butts tossed there throughout the day. Unfortunately, Seaside,

California, is the phlegm capital of the world. Not a very warm welcome to the army. I remember saying to myself that I would never make any soldier do that awful police call.

After eight weeks of basic training, a short four-day leave in Utah, and eight more weeks of advanced infantry training, I decided I wanted to be an officer instead of a buck private.

The company commander of our basic training unit was a first lieutenant who had been given a battlefield commission in the Korean War. He was one of the straightest, tallest specimens of leadership I had ever seen! After asking permission to speak to him, I asked if he would support an application to Officer Candidate School. He said yes, and three months later I was in Infantry Officer Candidate School at Fort Benning, Georgia. Seven months later I graduated as a second lieutenant infantry and was soon on my way to Korea.

The war was over! My job was to train the downtrodden, tired troops and strive to recreate discipline, respect, and morale. I obtained permission to hold a 5:00 p.m. troop formation, during which we played a recording of the national anthem. Morale increased, communication began, and we started working together. Three months later we had a fighting unit, sharp in their uniforms and boots shined.

Once back in the United States I spent four months at Fort Ord and then left the army to go to BYU to finish my degree and meet and marry my wife, Marcia. A year later we lived in Brigham City, where I was commander of an army reserve unit in Logan. Our first child was born the day my unit was activated for the Berlin call-up, and we spent a year at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. Through the U.S. Army Reserves, once again my life became connected to Fort Douglas.

Returning home in 1962 I became an active member of units at Fort Douglas. Those relationships lasted until my retirement as a major general in 1989.

I love Fort Douglas. It is now but a fraction in size to what it was, but still it stands as a beacon of light and security to the magnificent city around it. Thank you, Fort Douglas, for your strength, character, vitality, and meaning as a bulwark of strength in our lives. May God bless Fort Douglas, its community, and the land of the free, the United States of America. 🇺🇸

*Dick
Christiansen,
National
President*



Camp Douglas

KEEPING A WATCHFUL EYE ON SALT LAKE *and* THE SAINTS

BY KENNETH L. ALFORD

*Associate Professor of Church History and Doctrine at
Brigham Young University*

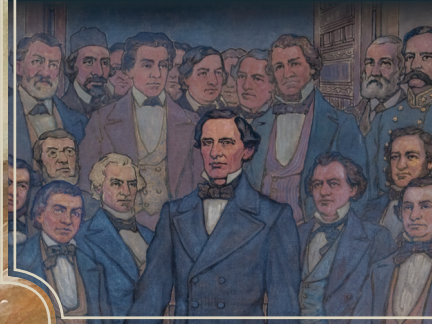
Camp Douglas is the only military installation in the United States sited purposely so that soldiers could keep a watchful eye on American citizens outside its gates. The establishment of Camp Douglas (later renamed Fort Douglas) on the bench above Salt Lake City is an interesting but little-known story of the American Civil War. Utah is generally viewed as a quiet bystander to the Civil War, but events in Utah played an important supporting role.

Brigham Young and the first Latter-day Saint pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in July 1847. At that time, President Young reportedly said, “If the United States will now let this people alone for ten years to come, we will ask no odds of them or any one else but God.”¹ In 1857, exactly ten years later, President James Buchanan declared Utah to be in open rebellion and ordered several thousand soldiers to march on Utah and install a new territorial governor. After harassment of the army, the evacuation of northern Utah, negotiation sessions, and the issuance of a blanket presidential pardon, the conflict was settled peaceably. Colonel Albert

Artwork by Lynn Faucett on display at the Fort Douglas Museum.

**Feb.
1861**

Forming of the
Confederate States
of America, with
Jefferson Davis
chosen as President.



Sidney Johnston's forces marched quietly through Salt Lake City in June 1858.

The soldiers established Camp Floyd (named after John B. Floyd, President Buchanan's secretary of war) 40 miles southwest of Salt Lake City. The camp's distance from Salt Lake City was probably viewed favorably by most Salt Lake inhabitants. Relations with Camp Floyd were sometimes strained but resulted in economic benefits for many Utah residents. Camp Floyd was renamed Fort Crittenden after Secretary Floyd resigned in December 1860 to join the Confederacy.

In 1861, when the first shots of the Civil War were fired, Utah found itself at a strategic cross-roads—mail, telegraph lines, gold from California, and emigrants all needed to pass freely through the Utah Territory, but Union soldiers were needed in the East far more than they were required at Fort Crittenden. In May 1861, the War Department "issued orders for the immediate withdrawal of all the regular troops from New-Mexico and Utah."² Fort Crittenden was evacuated and closed. The soldiers garrisoned there moved east in July. An auction held in August disposed of materials and buildings at the fort.³ One Salt Lake resident's August 1861 letter summed up the feelings of many Utah residents: "The troops are gone. Camp Floyd, which for three years past has resounded with the orgies of the ungodly and become a nest for every unclean thing, has reverted to its wonted quietude and simplicity. Sometimes I regret that

Camp Floyd

by Audrey M. Godfrey

On November 9, 1858, amid gun fire and patriotic music, the soldiers of Camp Floyd, Utah Territory, raised the United States flag above their newly completed garrison . . . the largest concentration of U.S. troops to that time, in what immediately became the third largest city in Utah.

Camp Floyd was a product of the so-called "Utah War." Influenced by rumors of rebellion in Utah, President James Buchanan ordered 2,500 soldiers led by General William S. Harney to the territory in May 1857. Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston took over the command of the Utah Expedition as Harney was retained in Kansas. . . .

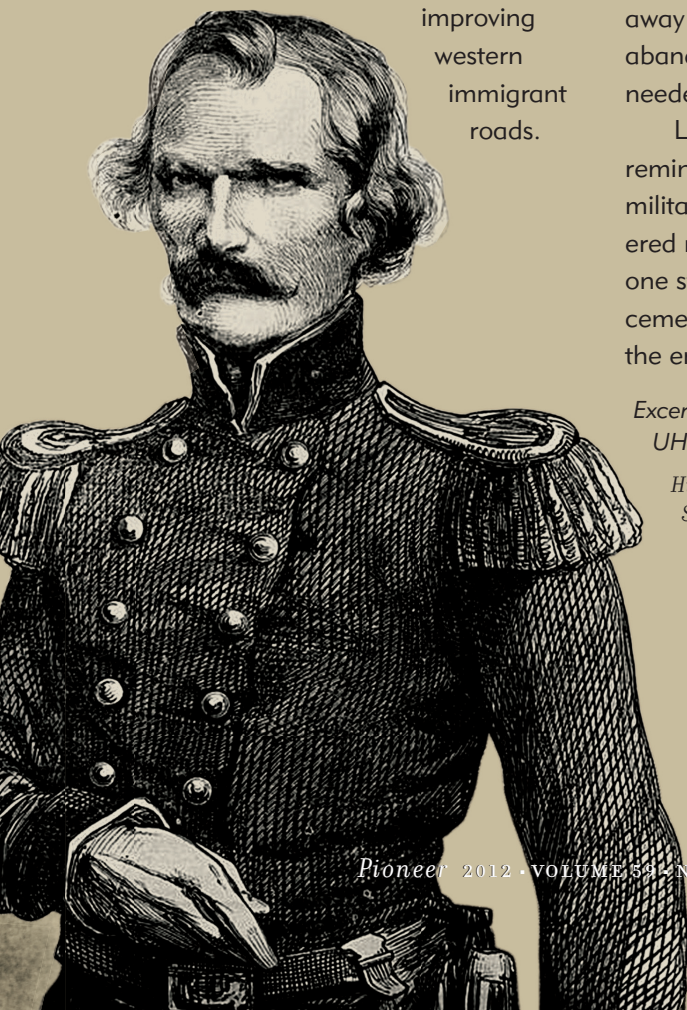
Extreme cold and harassment by Mormon [militia] . . . forced Johnston's Army into a winter encampment called Camp Scott near Fort Bridger. Successful peace negotiations resulted in orders in the spring of 1858 for the army to march through Salt Lake City and on to a garrison site in Cedar Valley, 40 miles south of the Mormon center. After a short stay at the north end of the valley, Johnston moved his men across a creek from present-day Fairfield, where soldiers, aided by Mormon laborers and artisans, built Camp Floyd.

*Camp
Floyd*



Though originally intended to be an occupying force, the army found itself virtually isolated from most of Utah's citizens. Nevertheless, it organized its own theatrical productions, a circus, a temperance society, and a Masonic lodge (the first in Utah). During the three-year tenure of the post, the men engineered a unique watering system, planted gardens, and regularly honed their military skills through drills and instruction. Some served in brief forays against Indians in western Utah and present-day eastern Nevada. . . . Others guarded army paymasters and immigrant trains between Utah and California.

The most significant contribution of the army came in its assistance in improving western immigrant roads.



Under the direction of Captain James H. Simpson of the Army Corps of Engineers, new routes were mapped which shortened travel time between the states and California; already existing trails were also improved. . . .

When fighting in the South escalated into the Civil War, the frontier troops were called back east to that conflict. . . .

The government sold at auction supplies not deemed transportable and destroyed munitions and armaments. Many local citizens benefited from the sale as provisions and other items sold at rock-bottom prices. After the army left, scavengers hauled away stones, lumber, and other abandoned items to construct needed farm buildings.

Little remains today to remind the visitor of the huge military reservation which covered nearly 100 acres. . . . Only one storehouse and the army cemetery still exist at the site of the encampment. ▼

Excerpts from www.media.utah.edu/UHE/c/CAMPFLOYD.html

Historical photos (4–5) courtesy Utah State Historical Society.



Built by Mormon pioneer John Carson in 1858, the **Stagecoach Inn** served as a stop and hotel on the overland stagecoach route. The horse-drawn stagecoaches on the route delivered mail and passengers from St. Louis, Missouri, to San Francisco, California. The trip took 22 to 25 days.

Guests at the inn included westward travelers and visitors of nearby Camp Floyd. General Albert Sidney Johnston preferred the inn because of owner John Carson's refusal to allow liquor on the premises. Camp Floyd was abandoned in 1861, and the popularity of the stagecoach travel diminished with completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869. The inn continued to operate until 1947, serving mainly travelers between Salt Lake City and the mining camps of western Utah and eastern Nevada.

The Stagecoach Inn was deeded to the Utah State Park and Recreation Commission in 1958, restored, and reopened to the public in 1964. ▼

Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston

I never visited it; yet at other times I feel grateful that I have kept myself entirely aloof from Gentile influences and associations.”⁴

While some residents celebrated the fort’s closing, others questioned the wisdom of the decision. A *New York Times* writer predicted that “the removal of the small force from Utah will prove a fatal blunder, as it will leave the great overland routes to California and Oregon unprotected, and invite aggression both from lawless Mormons and hostile Indians.”⁵ When increased Indian activity and attacks along the Overland Mail Route followed the withdrawal of soldiers from Fort Crittenden, it soon became apparent that military action was required. President Young and territorial federal officials suggested that “a regiment of mounted men be raised”⁶ to protect the mail, emigration, and telegraph routes. The government initially rejected their offer “because it is not supposed so large a force is necessary.”⁷ However, on April 28, 1862, by “express direction of the President of the United States,” President Young was authorized to “raise, arm, and equip one company of cavalry for ninety days’ service.”⁸ The government’s request specified that “the company will be employed to protect the property of the telegraph and overland mail companies in or about Independence Rock, where depredations have been committed, and will be continued in service only till the U.S. troops can reach the point where they are so much needed. . . . It will not be employed for any offensive operations other than may grow out of the duty hereinbefore assigned to it.”⁹

The requested soldiers were quickly mustered. Under the command of Captain Lot Smith, who had won fame during the Utah War, the company left Salt Lake City in early May 1862 for three months of active duty military service. In late August 1862, after the Utah volunteer company had returned to Utah, General James Craig, who was responsible for the overland mail and

telegraph lines from the Missouri River to the Utah Territory, telegraphed Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, requesting either reinforcements from the States or permission to “re-enlist the Utah troops for a limited time.”¹⁰ Secretary Stanton answered the following day, “You are authorized to raise 100 mounted men in the mountains and re-enlist the Utah troops for three months as requested.”¹¹

But no action was apparently taken on the reenlistment offer. Military leaders determined that dispatching volunteer units from California would be a more permanent military solution to protecting commerce and traffic along the overland trail. The State of California was asked to recruit 16,000 soldiers—some of whom would be sent to Utah.¹²

In May 1862, Brigadier General George Wright, commander of the army’s Department of the Pacific, appointed Colonel Patrick Edward Connor to command several companies of California Volunteers (or CVs as they were often called) to travel from Stockton, California, “to the vicinity of Salt Lake.”¹³ His stated mission was “to guard effectively the Overland Mail Route”¹⁴ and “also the telegraph stations.”¹⁵ Connor’s command arrived at Fort Churchill (near Reno, Nevada) in August 1862, where Colonel Connor assumed command of the military District of Utah, which included the Utah and Nevada Territories.



Captain Lot Smith

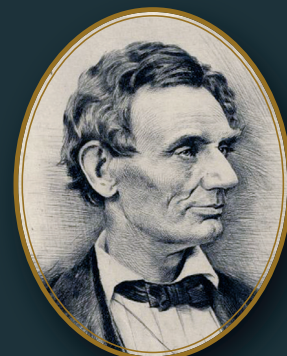
Establishment of Camp Douglas

Utah residents had dismantled Fort Crittenden too well. Many buildings had been sold or moved, with the remainder being left to the elements. Little did they know that the army would return at the end of the following year or that the poor condition of Fort Crittenden would help influence the selection of the army’s new encampment.

In the fall of 1862, Colonel Connor traveled in advance of the army to the Salt Lake valley from Fort Ruby (Nevada Territory) in order to select a route and scout out the best location for a military campsite near the city. Wearing civilian clothing, he “took a stroll about town and looked around with

March 1861

Abraham Lincoln
inaugurated as
President of the
United States.



an air of familiarity that indicated that after all Salt Lake City was something of a place, and might not be unpleasant notwithstanding, its desert surrounding.”¹⁶

When word reached Utah that the army would soon be returning, there was great concern. A *New York Times* report from Salt Lake stated, “There may be still another jurisdiction conflict in our midst, and perhaps a very pretty quarrel. . . . Let us hope for the best, particularly in the present juncture of affairs, and that peaceable counsels will prevail.”¹⁷

After visiting Fort Crittenden, Colonel Connor shared several reasons against reopening it. First, the fort was “in ruins” except for a few buildings (for which the owner wanted \$15,000). Second,

most of the few remaining buildings “would have to be torn down and removed.” Third, “the post is badly located.” As he stated in his fourth, and most important, reason, “I found another location, which I like better.” The location was “on a plateau about three miles from Salt Lake City; in the vicinity of good timber and saw-mills, and at a point where hay, grain, and other produce can be purchased cheaper

The 3rd California Infantry Band shown here in 1862. In July 1862, Patrick Connor’s command was ordered to protect the Overland Mail Route between central Nevada and South Pass Wyoming. The 3rd and 2nd California Volunteers leaving Camp McDougal for Utah consisted of about 1,000 infantry and 500 cavalymen; a battery of field artillery; 200 wagons, each capable of carrying 3,000 pounds of supplies; 3 wagon ambulances, and several carriages of officers’ families.

Historical photos (6–7) courtesy Utah State Historical Society.



than at Fort Crittenden.” Colonel Connor also revealed an additional, unofficial purpose for the new location—keeping an eye on the Mormons: “It is also a point which commands the city, and where 1,000 troops would be more efficient than 3,000 on the other side of the Jordan. If the general decides that I shall locate there, I intend to quietly intrench my position, and then say to the Saints of Utah, enough of your treason; but if it is intended that I shall merely protect the overland mail and permit the Mormons to act and utter treason, then I had as well locate at Crittenden. The Federal officers desire and beg that I will locate near the city.”¹⁸

On October 1, 1862, a few days before entering the Utah Territory with his soldiers, Colonel Connor reported, “The people of Utah are under

“I suppose you will be encamped somewhere . . . but within a short distance of this city. I believe the people you have now come amongst will not disturb you if you do not disturb them.”

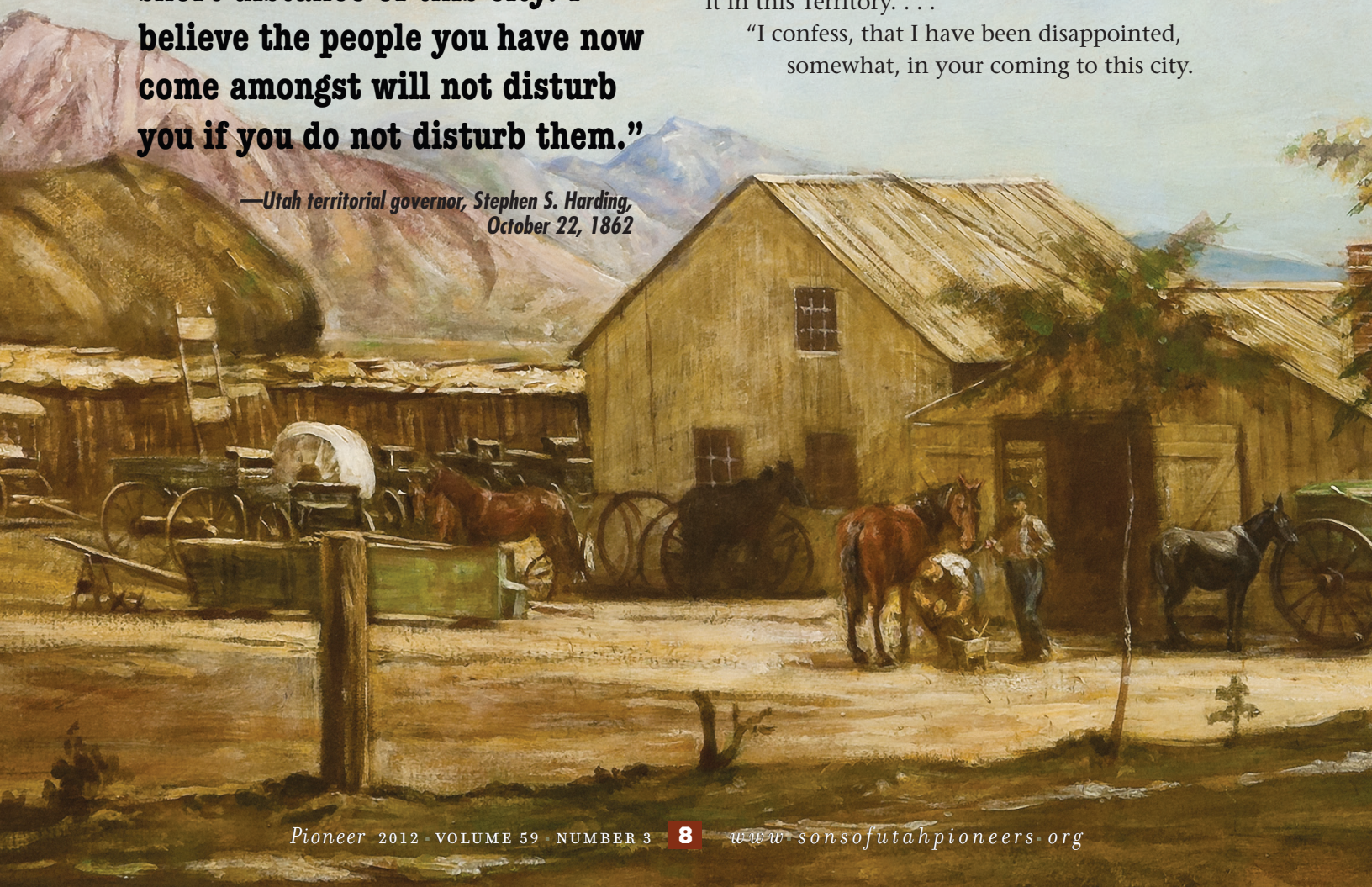
*—Utah territorial governor, Stephen S. Harding,
October 22, 1862*

the impression that I am to winter at Fort Crittenden.”¹⁹ He also informed his superiors that he had been “credibly informed by letter this morning that the flag-staff at Fort Crittenden was cut down since my visit and hauled away by Brigham’s orders.”²⁰ (See article on page 40, this issue.)

Connor quite likely viewed this as an affront to federal authority and a misuse of federal property.

Colonel Connor and his command (five infantry and two cavalry companies) camped at Fort Crittenden on October 17, 1862, and marched down State Street into Salt Lake City on October 22, 1862. The soldiers halted and formed two lines in front of territorial governor Stephen S. Harding’s residence. After being introduced by Colonel Connor, Governor Harding addressed the troops while standing in a carriage: “It is with pleasure that I meet you all here to-day. . . . The individual, if any such there be, who supposed that the Government has sent you here, that mischief might come out of it, knows not the spirit of our Government, and knows not the spirit of the officers who represent it in this Territory. . . .

“I confess, that I have been disappointed, somewhat, in your coming to this city.



"I do not know now what disposition is to be made of you, but I suppose you will be encamped somewhere, I know not where, but within a short distance of this city. I believe the people you have now come amongst will not disturb you if you do not disturb them."²¹

Following the governor's speech, the soldiers marched to the base of the mountains east of the city "between Red Butte and Emmigration Kanyons [sic]."²² On October 26, 1862, Colonel Connor formally announced, "Pursuant to orders from department headquarters a military post is hereby established at this camp, to be called Camp Douglas." The boundaries of the camp began "at a post due north one mile distant from the garrison flag staff, and running thence west one mile, thence south two miles, thence east two miles, thence north two miles, and thence west one mile, to the place of beginning, containing 2,560 acres more or less."²³

Tensions between Salt Lake City and Camp Douglas began almost immediately. Knowingly or unknowingly, Patrick Connor had agitated Salt Lake residents even in the selection of the name for the new installation—Camp Douglas.

Senator Stephen A. Douglas had been an early friend to the

Latter-day Saints, but in the last years of his life he became quite outspoken against Mormonism. In 1857, speaking of the Mormons, he commented that "it will become the duty of Congress to apply the knife and cut out this loathsome, disgusting ulcer."²⁴

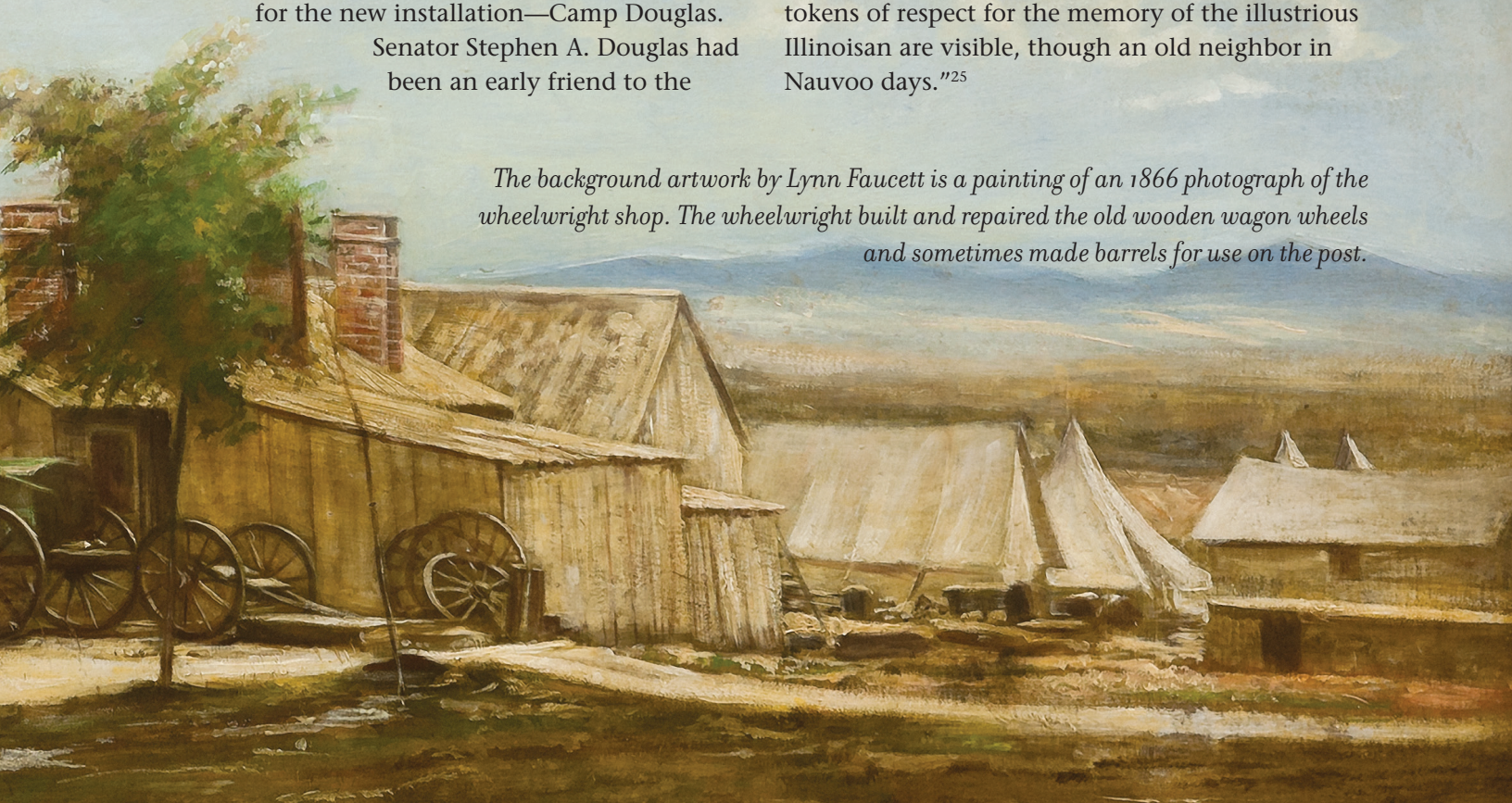
Shortly after Senator Douglas's death in June 1861, a *New York Times* correspondent reported from Salt Lake City: "Last Wednesday the Pony [Express] told us of the death of Senator Douglas. The Mormon portion of the community entertain certain hard recollections of the Senator, on account of his 'loathsome' recommendations. So there are no flags at half mast, no mourning appears, no tears are shed, no tokens of respect for the memory of the illustrious Illinoisan are visible, though an old neighbor in Nauvoo days."²⁵

**April
12,
1861**

**Shots fired on
Fort Sumter, one of
several hostilities
marking the
beginning of the
Civil War.**



The background artwork by Lynn Faucett is a painting of an 1866 photograph of the wheelwright shop. The wheelwright built and repaired the old wooden wagon wheels and sometimes made barrels for use on the post.



In the months following the establishment of Camp Douglas, the "Overland Mail Company, the Post-Office Department, and Department of the Interior" all urged Connor's superiors, including General Henry Halleck (President Lincoln's military general-in-chief), to move Connor's soldiers from Salt Lake City to Fort Bridger "as a check upon the Indians."²⁶ As a compromise, Connor detached one or two companies from his command to occupy Fort Bridger. Echoing Colonel Connor's anti-Mormon sentiments, General George Wright informed his superiors in Washington, DC, "Without entering into details I am well convinced that prudential considerations demand the presence of a force in that country [Salt Lake] strong enough to look down any opposition."²⁷ Governor Harding also recommended that Colonel Connor's command should remain at Camp Douglas: "I have not a doubt but that it will be the last time that U.S. soldiers will have the privilege of entering this Territory peaceably if Colonel Connor is now ordered away. I do not say that Mormons would meet our troops openly in such an attempt, although there are strong reasons for believing that they would, yet I have no doubt but the Indians would be encouraged to do so, and all possible succor would be given them by the powers here. . . . The base of operations should be here. . . . In the withdrawal

of the troops the General Government virtually abandons her sovereignty over this Territory."²⁸

The army's late arrival required them to work hard throughout the winter building the new camp. By February 1863, Colonel Connor reported they had built 13 small officers' quarters, a guard-house, a bake house, a commissary, quartermaster offices, stores, stables, a blacksmith shop, and a hospital. The enlisted soldiers lived in "temporary shelters of tents placed over excavations four feet deep, with good stone and adobe fireplace."²⁹

Camp Douglas proved to be a source of welcome income for many local residents. While many supply items were received from the States, the military purchased tons of locally produced hay, barley, oats, potatoes, and cattle, among other products. In accordance with Colonel Connor's strong Unionist views, all contractors supplying items to Camp Douglas were "required to take the oath of allegiance to the United States Government."³⁰ Soldiers found Salt Lake City the obvious location to spend their monthly pay. In December 1862, the army "disbursed among them the snug sum of \$74,000, so that they can now rejoice in being paid up. . . . The shopkeepers of this city are doing a heavy business. The stores are thronged most of the day, and 'green-backs' are more plentiful than blackberries in this Territory."³¹



Businesses, some of a questionable nature, also began to spring up around the borders of the camp: "As is usual elsewhere, thanks to the weakness and wickedness of poor human nature, accommodating persons and institutions cluster around Camp Douglas, . . . and it is really too much to suppose that every officer and private is entirely unimpressible when Bacchus and Venus hang out their colors. So to prevent, as far as possible, any little accidents derogatory to discipline and military efficiency, Col. Connor at a dress parade on Monday, declared, by special order, that the military reserve connected with the post above-named, was extended to embrace an area of four miles square."³²

There were apparently few, if any, discussions between Colonel Connor and Salt Lake civic authorities regarding either the original location or expanded dimensions of Camp Douglas. Much of the newly extended camp boundaries were within the corporate limits of Salt Lake City, which did not sit well with city authorities, but there was little they could do. Other problems arose during the next few months as the city and camp struggled to accommodate each other. Camp Douglas was just six months old when a grand jury of the U.S. district court for the Third Judicial District of Utah Territory (with Latter-day Saint Apostles George A. Smith and Franklin D. Richards serving as the

foreman and a jury member, respectively) was impanelled in Salt Lake City to consider Camp Douglas's "notoriously offensive or . . . obnoxious and revolting" water usage policies. The grand jury declared that Camp Douglas was abusing Red Butte Creek—the primary water supply for at least 3,000 Salt Lake City residents: "Camp Douglas, where have since been stationed a large body of troops, . . . have placed obstructions in the stream; have built privies on or close to one of said streams of water, and in divers other ways have the said troops and those following them . . . fouled the water thereof, and rendered it extremely filthy and nauseous, to the great inconvenience of the people of the said city, and deleterious to their health."³³

Friction between Church and State

Tensions were exacerbated by historical and philosophical differences between the Church and the U.S. government. Relations between the two parties had been mixed since the Church's founding in 1830. Latter-day Saints viewed themselves as loyal Americans with a firm dedication to and belief in the Constitution of the United States. Several federal actions, though, especially military actions against the Saints, were not viewed favorably. A March 1863 article in the *Deseret News* proclaimed: "Ever since we as a people were driven from our homes in Illinois; traversed an almost trackless desert and settled in these distant valleys; a constant effort has been made by wicked and designing men to disturb our peace and interfere with those religious rights secured to us by the Federal Constitution. We have neither time, space, nor inclination to review the wrongs and insults that our bodies,

**Sept. 17,
1862**

**THE BATTLE OF
ANTIETAM CREEK,
near Sharpsburg,
Maryland; 23,000
are killed in this
bloodiest day
of combat in
American history.**



Barely settled in for the winter, Connor mobilized 300 men in January 1863 for a march to what is now southern Idaho to aid settlers and trappers who were the target of raiding Native Americans. The battle became known as the Massacre at Bear River. Photo courtesy Fort Douglas Museum.

and we as a people have suffered. They are all matters of history; delineating them will present one of the darkest pages ever recorded of any religious people.”³⁴

The early history of Camp Douglas boils down, in large measure, to the interaction between two strong personalities—President Brigham Young and Colonel Connor. Connor was seen by himself and many others as a true patriot. An Irish immigrant, he voluntarily left his family and a very comfortable life in California to serve his nation. President Young’s feelings regarding soldiers being sent again to Utah might be best summed up in the opening words of the proclamation he issued to the citizens of Utah five years earlier, on September 15, 1857: “For the last twenty-five years we have trusted officials of the government, from constables and justices to judges, governors and presidents, only to be scorned, held in derision, insulted and betrayed. Our houses have been plundered and then burned, our fields laid waste, our principal men butchered while under the pledged faith of the government for their safety, and our families driven from their homes to find that shelter in the barren wilderness and that protection among hostile savages, which were denied them in the boasted abodes of christianity and civilization.

“The Constitution of our common country guarantees unto us all that we do now, or have ever claimed. If the constitutional rights which pertain unto us as American citizens were extended to Utah, according to the spirit and meaning thereof, and fairly and impartially administered, it is all that we could ask, all that we have ever asked.”³⁵

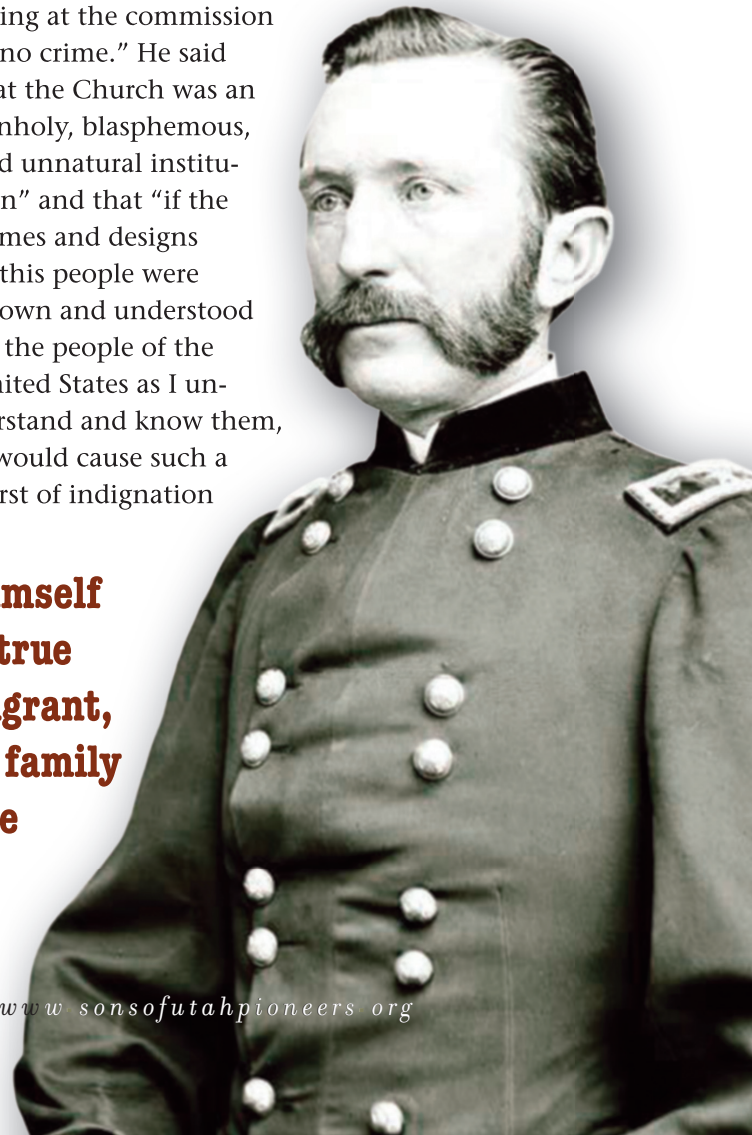
As he had done during the Utah War, President Young sought to demonstrate his loyalty to the Constitution and the Union. When the transcontinental telegraph reached Salt Lake City in October 1861, for example, one of the first messages sent by Brigham Young

affirmed that “Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country.”³⁶

General Wright, Colonel Connor’s superior, reported that “Brigham Young was exceedingly anxious that the troops should reoccupy Camp Crittenden or some point remote from the city, but after mature consideration I came to the conclusion that the site of the present camp was the most eligible for the accomplishment of the objects in view. It is a commanding position, looking down on the city, and hence has been dreaded by the Mormon chief.”³⁷

Colonel Connor saw it as his responsibility to do something about the Mormons. As early as September 1862, his official reports began to include complaints about Mormons and Mormonism. According to Connor, Mormons were “a community of traitors, murderers, fanatics, and whores”³⁸ who were “composed chiefly of the very lowest class of foreigners and aliens, . . . hesitating at the commission of no crime.” He said that the Church was an “unholy, blasphemous, and unnatural institution” and that “if the crimes and designs of this people were known and understood by the people of the United States as I understand and know them, it would cause such a burst of indignation

“Connor was seen by himself and many others as a true patriot. An Irish immigrant, he voluntarily left his family and a very comfortable life in California to serve his nation.”



as would result in the utter annihilation of this whole people. . . . The sooner we are rid of the evil, and the nation of the stigma [of Mormonism], the better it will be for us. . . . Individually I would prefer to serve in another field. At the same time there is much to do here, and it would give me great pleasure to contribute my humble services to blot out this stigma on our national honor."³⁹

It was not just the tenets of Mormonism that bothered Patrick Connor. He saw Mormons as "disloyal almost to a man, and treason, if not openly preached, [was] covertly encouraged."⁴⁰ In Connor's eyes, "the so-called President Young" was "engaged in mounting cannon for the purpose of resisting the Government."⁴¹ He reported that the Mormons were "hard at work making cartridges" and that President Young had placed a "guard of 300 men" at his home with which, from Connor's perspective, he could resist federal authority.⁴²

Camp Douglas was indeed a thorn in President Young's side, and Colonel Connor knew it. In December 1862, Connor reported, "My present position [at Camp Douglas] was selected for its availability, and commanding as it does not only all the avenues to but even the town itself, it is an important one, and I am not surprised that Brigham Young considers its occupancy dangerous to his interests."⁴³ Connor's view was that "Mormonism as preached and practiced in this Territory is not only subversive of morals, in conflict with the civilization of the present age, and oppressive on the people, but also deeply and boldly in contravention of the laws and best interests of the nation." Therefore, he "sought by every proper means in [his] power to arrest its progress and prevent its spread."⁴⁴ He initially believed there were but two ways to resolve the problems and influence of Mormonism: "First, by dividing the Territory into four parts and adding the parts to the four adjoining Territories; second, by declaring martial law."⁴⁵ By dividing the territory, he hoped to weaken both Brigham Young's and Salt Lake City's influence on the surrounding regions. A few months later, he came to see a third way—"inviting into the Territory large numbers of Gentiles to live among and dwell with the people."⁴⁶ To accomplish this end,

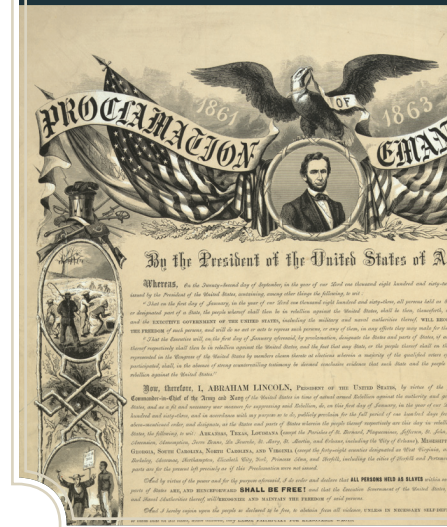
he "considered the discovery of gold, silver, and other valuable minerals in the Territory of the highest importance," and he "instructed commanders of posts and detachments to permit the men of their commands to prospect the country in the vicinity of their respective posts, whenever such course would not interfere with their military duties, and to furnish every proper facility for the discovery and opening of mines of gold, silver, and other minerals." Connor, who is recognized today as the "Father of Utah Mining,"⁴⁷ believed that by encouraging Gentiles to settle and mine in Utah, "the Mormon question will at an early day be finally settled by peaceable means, without the increased expenditure of a dollar by Government."⁴⁸ His belief in this policy was so strong that in spring 1864 he directed some of his subordinate commanders to "devote the most of [their] attention" to the discovery of new mines.⁴⁹

The military blamed increasing tensions with Salt Lake inhabitants on "the open declarations of hostility to the Government on the part of their public men and their bold, continued, and unceasing teachings of disloyalty," which Colonel Connor stated "time and again tended to produce excitements leading to collision, which have only been avoided by the most temperate and moderate course of the officers and men of my command."⁵⁰

March 1863 was a particularly tense period in the relationship between Salt Lake City and Camp Douglas. Several events and beliefs contributed to the heightening of tensions. Chief among them was concern that the army was planning to arrest President Young. Colonel Connor became alarmed

**Jan. 1,
1863**

Lincoln signs the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, freeing slaves in Confederate states.





Colonel Connor's quarters and office.



At the north side of the parade field, the buildings on the left is a sutler store with Company Quarters lined up behind it.

on March 3 and again on March 4 when "Brigham caused to be removed from the Territorial arsenal to his residence all the ordnance and ordnance stores, and placed a large body of armed men in his yard, which is inclosed with a high stone wall [sic]."⁵¹ Connor was uncertain whether Young's actions and intent were defensive or offensive. On March 8, President Young spoke in the Tabernacle and discussed the loyalty of the Saints, relations with the federal government, the Civil War, and Camp Douglas: "But if the Government of the United States should now ask for a battalion of men to fight in the present battle-fields

of the nation, while there is a camp of soldiers from abroad located within the corporate limits of this city, I would not ask one man to go; I would see them in hell first. What was the result a year ago, when our then Governor . . . called for men to go and guard the mail route? Were they promptly on hand?

"Yes, and when President Lincoln wrote to me requesting me to fit out one hundred men to guard the mail route, we at once enlisted the one hundred men for ninety days. On Monday evening I received the instruction, and on Wednesday afternoon that hundred men were mustered into service and encamped ready for moving. But all this does not prove any loyalty to political tyrants.

"We guarded the mail route. . . . We do not need any soldiers here from any other States or Territories to perform that service, neither does the Government, as they would know if they were wise. . . .

"What can we do? We can serve God, and mind our own business; keep our powder dry, and be prepared for every emergency to which we may be exposed, and sustain the civil law to which we are subject. . . .

"Now, as we are accused of secession, my counsel to this congregation is to secede, what from? From the Constitution of the United States? No. From

the institutions of our country? No. Well then, what from? From sin and the practice thereof. That is my counsel to this congregation and to the whole world."⁵²

On March 9, Colonel Connor reported that President Young "raised the national flag over his residence for the first time I am told since his arrival in the Territory, but not, however, from motives of patriotism or for any loyal purpose, but as a signal to his people to assemble armed, which they immediately did, to the number of about 1,500."⁵³ The following day, Colonel Connor reported that the Mormons "are determined to have trouble, and

are trying to provoke me to bring it on, but they will fail."⁵⁴

On March 12, the flag at President Young's residence was raised again—causing 1,500 Mormon militia members to assemble. As before, the unofficial militia was dismissed, but Latter-day Saint guards patrolled the city each night. Connor clearly recognized the friction that existed but apparently felt he was not responsible for it. He notified General Wright: "The only excuse his adherents give for this extraordinary proceeding is that he feared I would arrest him for uttering treasonable language. . . . There has been nothing in my conduct or language which could be construed so as to induce that belief. . . . Since my arrival the people of the Territory have been treated kindly and courteously by both my officers and men, who have never given one of them cause for complaint, which the people freely acknowledge. But notwithstanding this, the courtesy we have given is returned with abuse. They rail at us in their sermons in which we are also classed with cutthroats

and gamblers, our Government cursed and vilified in their public speeches and meetings."⁵⁵

After noting that his command was "in no immediate danger," Colonel Connor explained, "If the present preparations of the Mormons should continue I will be compelled for the preservation of my command to strike at the heads of the church. . . . If I remain in my present position (although a strong one) for them to attack me, I am lost, as they have about 5,000 men capable of bearing arms and cannon of heavier caliber than mine. . . . I will do nothing rashly or hastily, and my intercourse with them will be, as heretofore, courteous and firm."⁵⁶

After hearing of the increased tensions in Salt Lake City, General Wright admonished Colonel Connor, "Be prudent and cautious. Hold your troops well in hand. A day of retribution will come."⁵⁷ On March 29, 1863, with the approval of Secretary Stanton, Connor was promoted to brigadier general for his "heroic conduct and brilliant victory on Bear River" over the local Indian population.⁵⁸ By the end of the month, General Wright notified Washington, DC, that "the excitement at

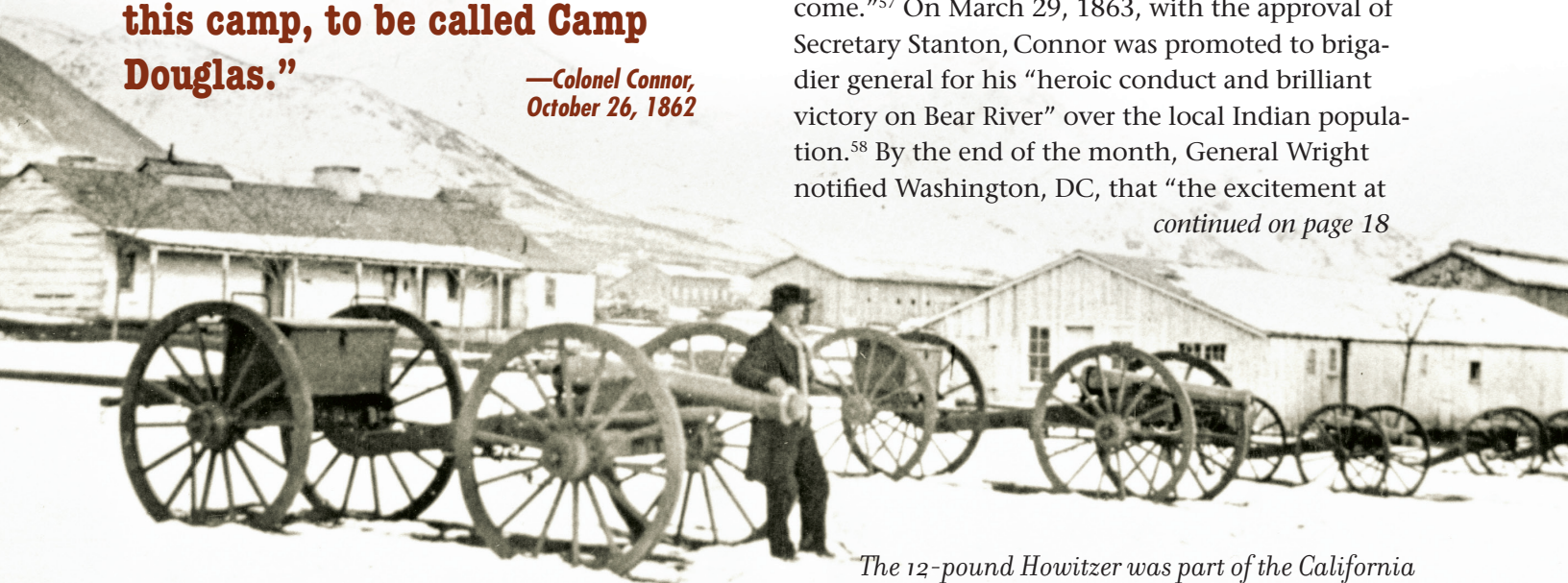
continued on page 18

"Pursuant to orders from department headquarters a military post is hereby established at this camp, to be called Camp Douglas."

—Colonel Connor,
October 26, 1862

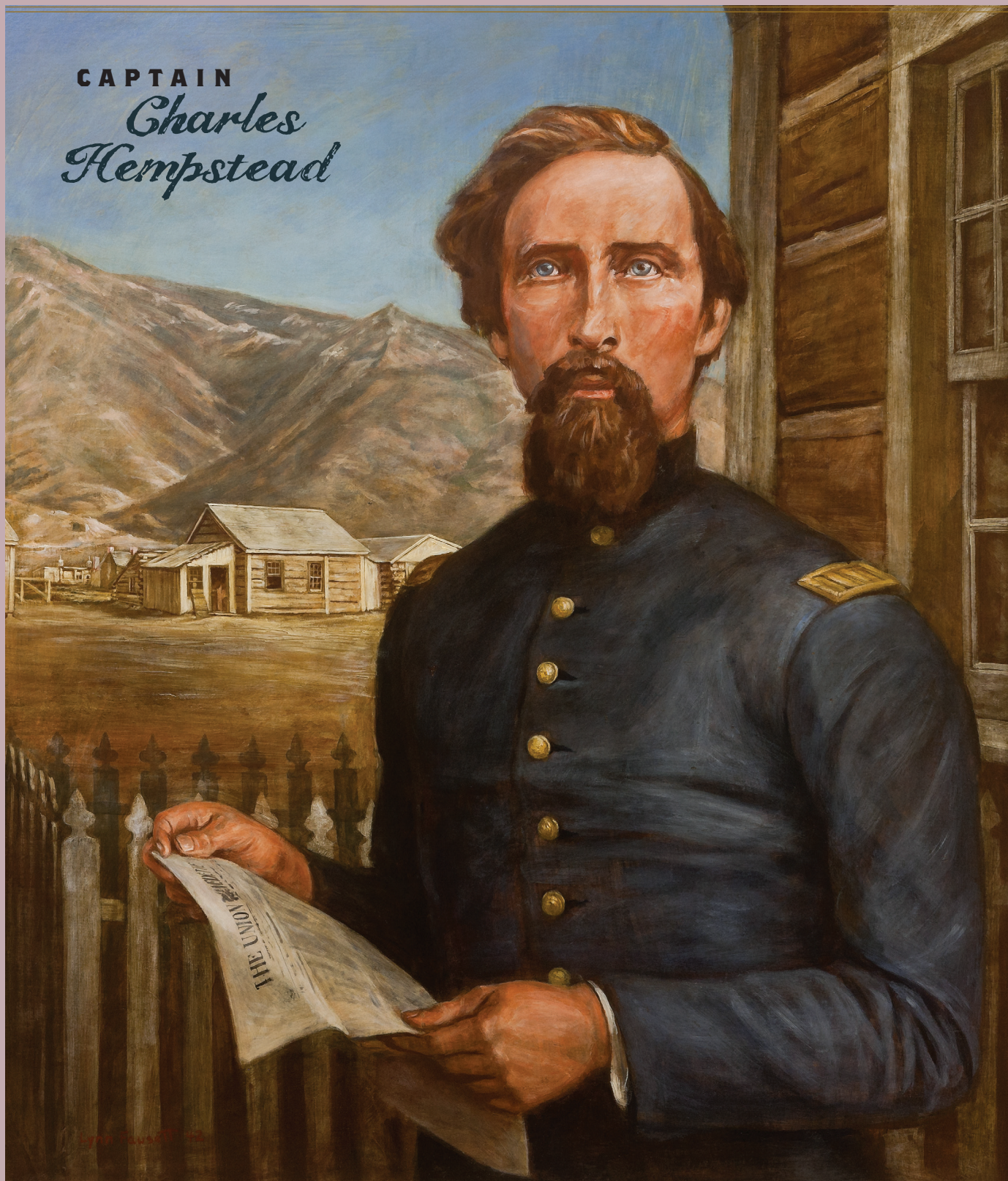
**July
1-3,
1863**

**The Battle
of Gettysburg in
Pennsylvania
results in 51,000
casualties.**



The 12-pound Howitzer was part of the California Volunteers' heavy armament, along with caisson and limber.

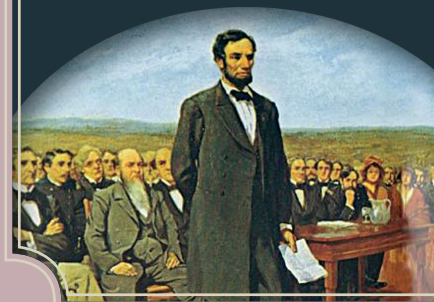
Historical photos (14–15) courtesy Utah State Historical Society.



Artwork by Lynn Faucett on display at the Fort Douglas Museum.

Nov. 19,
1863

Lincoln's
GETTYSBURG
ADDRESS dedicates
a battlefield
cemetery at
Gettysburg,
Pennsylvania.



The Union Vedette

Captain Charles Hempstead was superintendent of the U.S. Mint in San Francisco before he enlisted in the army. In 1863, Colonel Connor assigned him to be the editor of Camp Douglas's first newspaper, *The Union Vedette*. He became the post's first provost marshal of Salt Lake City and established his headquarters in a building opposite the Tabernacle on South Temple Street. Charles Hempstead was well liked by the Mormons, and after his discharge from the military, he became the U.S. Attorney for the district of Utah in February 1866.

This was the print office of *The Union Vedette* in 1866. The *Deseret News* was the Mormon-owned newspaper at the time and quite often complained of the military's presence, so Connor established *The Union Vedette*, with the first publication on November 20, 1863. It was a post newspaper and its tone was strongly anti-Mormon. The paper was published weekly until January 1864, when it became a daily newspaper.

(In the painting at left, the print office is seen in the background.)

The Union Vedette newspaper's motto was "A champion, brave, alert and strong; to aid the right, oppose the wrong." The name "Vedette" means a mounted sentinel in advance of the main group, to warn of approaching danger. *The Vedette* had a wide circulation in Utah and neighboring states and was the first "Gentile" newspaper in Utah.

The last issue was published November 27, 1867. (See Louwane Vansoolen, Fort Douglas Military Museum, *Fort Douglas: Images of America* [Arcadia Publishing, SC, 2009], 25–26). ▣

THE UNION VEDETTE.

PUBLISHED BY OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN OF THE CALIFORNIA VOLUNTEERS.

Vol. 1. CAMP DOUGLAS, U. T., FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1863. 5545 No. 1.

The Union Vedette,
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
CAMP DOUGLAS, UTAH TERRITORY,
[Near Great Salt Lake City.]
By Officers and Enlisted Men
Of the California Volunteers.

Terms of Subscription:
One Copy per month, - - - 75 Cents,
Three months, - - - \$2 00
Single Copies, - - - 25 Cents.

Rates of Advertising:
Ten lines or less, per week, - - - \$1 00
Each subsequent insertion, - - - 75
One-fourth column, per month, - - - \$8 00
One-half column, per month, - - - \$10 00
One column, per month, - - - \$15 00
Business Cards, per month, - - - \$25 00

JOB WORK,
SUCH AS
Programmes, Bill-Heads,
BALL INVITATIONS,

DISSOLUTION.
THE co-partnership heretofore existing under the firm name of Stubbs, Welton & Co., of the Camp Douglas Express Company, was dissolved on the 14th day of November, 1863. The outstanding debts due the firm will be collected by W. B. Welton & Horace Taylor. Bills against the firm will be presented to Welton & Taylor for payment.

MOSIS R. STUBBS,
W. B. WELTON,
HORACE TAYLOR.
Camp Douglas, Utah Territory,
November 15th, 1863.

WELTON & TAYLOR have the pleasure to announce that they will continue in the lively business at Camp Douglas, and hope to meet with the public favor.

Coaches will leave Camp daily for the City, at 9 o'clock A. M., returning at 4 45 P. M.; also runs regularly to the Theater in the city, every evening of performances.

Good Saddle Horses can always be obtained at the stable on reasonable terms.

WELTON & TAYLOR.

By-Laws of West Mountain Quartz Mining District.
[Passed September 17th, 1863.]
At a meeting of the quartz miners of West Mountain Quartz Mining District, held at Jordan Ward House, Salt Lake Valley, on the 17th day of September, 1863, the following by-laws were passed:

PERHAPS A LITTLE LATE, but nevertheless the following beautiful hymn of WILLIS GAYLORD CLARK, will never be stale. Indeed, were it his only production, it is enough to render his name immortal.

October.
Solemn, yet beautiful to view,
Month of my heart! thou dwinnest here,
With sad and faded leaves to shew
The Summer's melancholy bier;
The moanings of thy winds I hear.
As the red sunset dies afar,
And bats of purple clouds appear,
Obscuring every western star.

Thou solemn month! I hear thy voice—
It tells my soul of other days,
When but to live was to rejoice—
When earth was lovely to my gaze;
Oh, visions bright—oh, blessed hours,
Where are their living raptures now?
I ask my spirit's weary power—
I ask my pale and fevered brow?

I look to nature and behold
My life's dim emblems rustling round,
In lines of crimson and of gold—
The year's dead honors strew the ground;
And sighing with the winds, I feel,
While their low pinions murmur by,
How much then sweeping tongs reveal
Of life and humankind's destiny.

danger was near me—that I should perish if I slept. Suddenly I awoke. I think it was the galloping steps of a horse approaching the dwelling that caused me to regain my consciousness: at any rate, that was the noise that first struck upon my ear as I opened my eyes. But I did not devote much time to reflection. I can assure you, for as I did so the first object I saw was the figure of old Jerry bending over me, while the moonlight which slanted through the single brook a pin glittered on the white steel blade of a huge bow-knife which he held uplifted just in the act of striking. I must own that I considered my life gone, for there was not even time for me to cock a pistol; but luckily, while the villain had no time to wake, the noise outside suddenly arrested his attention. The delay was a relief to me and fatal to him. In an instant I had covered him with a pistol; in another, a report a cloud of smoke, and he fell dead, shot through the brain.

Almost simultaneously I heard the horse stop at the door. Some one dismounted and tried to force the door. It was immovable. Next I heard efforts at the door in the rear, communicating with the partitioned apartment I have made reference to. At last I heard it give way, and some one whose tread I fancied seemed too light for a man's, entered. There was a breathless silence for a moment, during which the street's resounding clanging his bit outside seemed a painful contrast. Then I heard a singularly sweet voice which, however contradictory it may appear, had yet with it a tone of intense ferocity, uttering the following with a slightly Spanish accent.

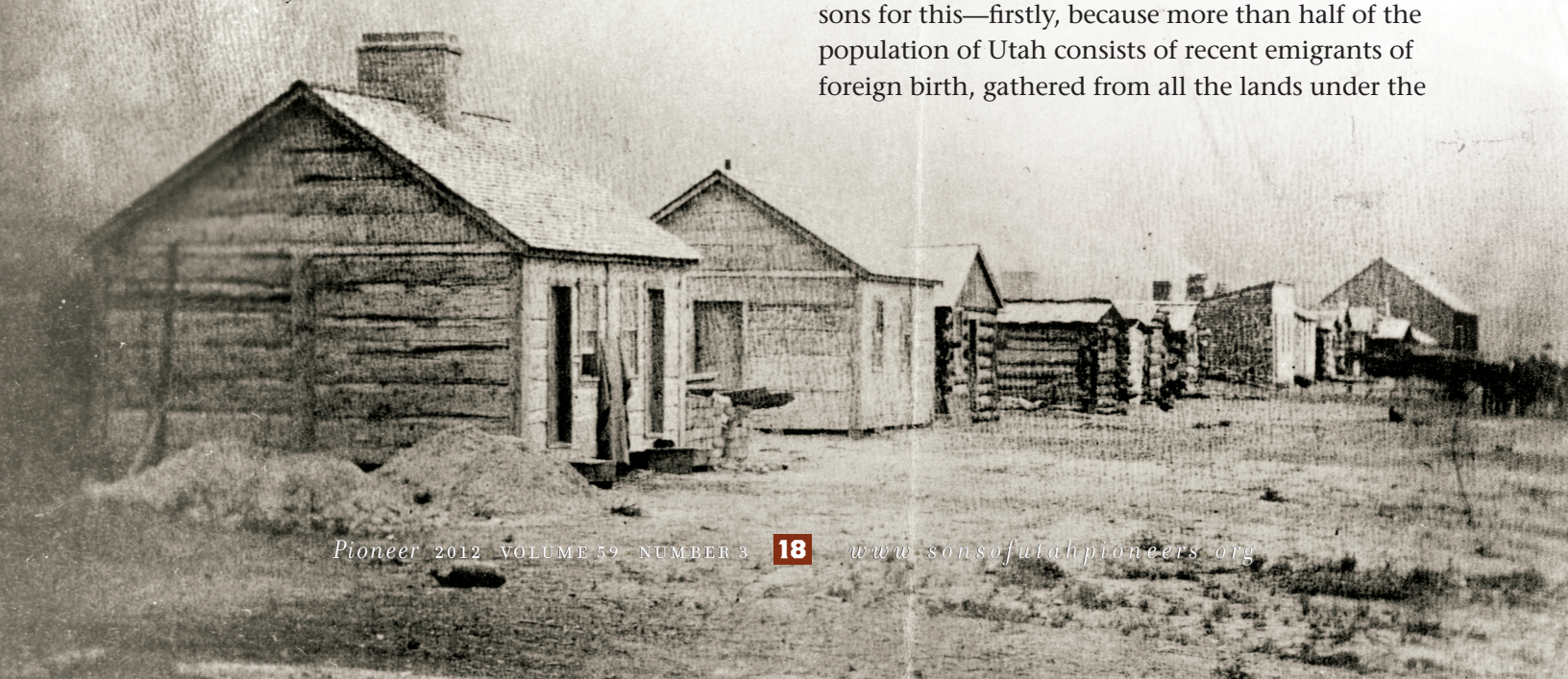
Great Salt Lake City, brought about by the treasonable acts of Brigham Young and his adherents, has somewhat subsided, yet I am fully satisfied that they only wait for a favorable opportunity to strike a blow against the Union.”⁵⁹

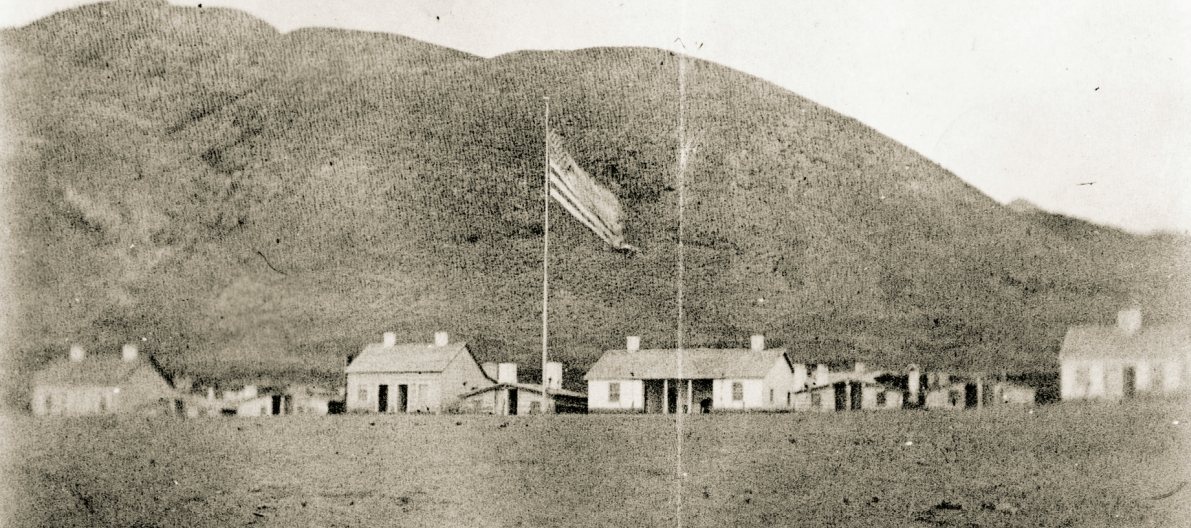
Continuing distrust and tensions between Salt Lake residents and the soldiers caused General Wright to inform army headquarters in July 1863 that he was seriously considering “the propriety of removing the troops from the immediate vicinity of Great Salt Lake City to the old position at Camp Floyd. . . . It would obviate the irritations and complaints which are constantly arising between the soldiers and citizens.” The district’s headquarters would remain in Salt Lake City, even if the soldiers were relocated, and no plans were entertained regarding the complete removal of soldiers from the Utah Territory. According to Wright, “The presence of the force now there is indispensable for the protection of the Overland Mail Route and the general safety of the country.”⁶⁰

Each company was authorized four laundresses, who were usually wives of enlisted men on post and were housed in these small cabins. A laundress might make as much as \$30 a month (much more than an enlisted soldier for that time) washing uniforms. The row of cabins located along Red Butte Creek was often known as “Suds Row.” Besides housing, laundresses often received rations of food, fuel, and medical supplies for their services. Historical photos (18–19) courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

That same day, July 31, 1863, General Wright notified General Connor that he was contemplating reoccupying Camp Crittenden and ordered Connor “to make immediate preparations to this end, . . . advise the general by telegraph . . . when the command at Camp Douglas can be moved to Camp Crittenden.”⁶¹ Any responses to this order from General Connor have apparently been lost, but something caused General Wright to change his mind. On August 19, General Connor received new orders: “To the extent that if, in your judgment, the withdrawal of the troops from Camp Douglas would produce an impression on the minds of the Mormons that the removal was in consequence of disapprobation of your course while in command, or in any manner injurious to the interests of the Government, you will retain Camp Douglas as your principal station.”⁶²

Tension and misunderstanding between the Mormons and the military continued throughout the Civil War. In August 1863, James D. Doty, Utah’s territorial governor, noted, “Many of those difficulties arise from the mistaken notion that the interests of this people and those of the Government are at variance. I think they are not.”⁶³ The Latter-day Saint perspective was probably adequately summarized after the war ended in a correspondent’s November 1865 *New York Times* report: “As to the graver matters of disloyalty and threatened difficulties, we may say that such accusations against the Mormons are not new, and perhaps are not now, any more than formerly, altogether without foundation. There may be two reasons for this—firstly, because more than half of the population of Utah consists of recent emigrants of foreign birth, gathered from all the lands under the





This 1864 view shows Camp Douglas, Post Headquarters, and Officers' Quarters located on the east side of the parade field. Most forts at this time were located in dry, deserted areas of the frontier. If a man were lucky enough to be sent to Camp Douglas with its mountain range, streams, and good game, he was considered very fortunate.

sun, and from all the islands fixed in the sea; and secondly, because the long and terrible persecutions of the Mormons in Illinois and Missouri in the early days of the Church have left behind them bitter memories of the power that failed to afford protection. Then, again, there have always been annoying quarrels in progress with the Mormons, which reached the very verge of war eight years ago, and the embers of which have been smouldering ever since. We do not see, however, from anything that has been published, that there have been any new or menacing developments of late, or that things are in any worse condition than that in which they have been for the last eighteen or twenty years.

"Is it necessary for the government to take any action in the premises?

"We decidedly think not."⁶⁴

Fort Douglas after the Civil War

In the years following the Civil War, relations between Camp Douglas and Salt Lake City gradually softened from antagonism to grudging acceptance and finally to an embrace. In the space of a few short years, Camp Douglas became an important and noncontroversial part of Salt Lake City. Reflecting a personal example of the widespread change of attitude that occurred, General Connor returned to Salt Lake City in the later years of his life and lived there until his death on December 16, 1891, when, as he had requested, he was buried in the military cemetery at Fort Douglas.⁶⁵

In 1878, the year after Brigham Young's death, Camp Douglas was officially renamed Fort Douglas and designated as an army regimental post. Soldiers from Fort Douglas played a contributing role in American history from the Civil War through the Korean War. Prisoners of war were housed at Fort Douglas during both World War I and World War II. The fort was officially closed in 1991, although a small section of the original grounds continued to support elements of the Utah National Guard and Army Reserve for several years. During the 2002 Salt Lake Winter Olympic games, part of Fort Douglas was used as the Olympic Village, housing visiting athletes from many continents. Visitors to Fort Douglas today can visit a military museum and several historic buildings that help preserve its historic past. ▼

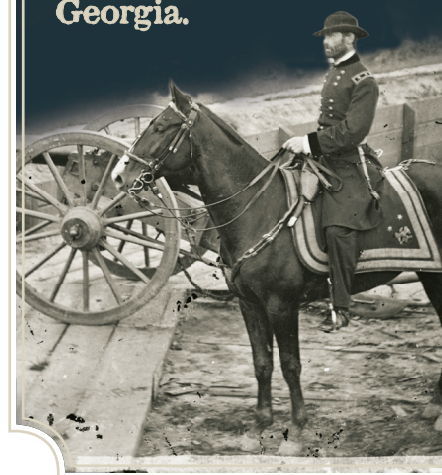
An extended version of this article previously appeared in Salt Lake City: The Place Which God for Us Prepared, ed. Scott C. Esplin and Kenneth L. Alford (Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, in cooperation with Deseret Book, Salt Lake City, 2011).

Nov. 8, 1864

Lincoln re-elected to a second term, winning more than 55 percent of the popular vote.

Dec. 21, 1864

Culminating his infamous "March to the Sea," General Sherman captures Savannah, Georgia.



1 Orson Hyde, in *Journal of Discourses* (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1854–86), 6:12.

2 “The Secession Rebellion,” *New York Times*, May 24, 1861, 1.

3 “Affairs in Utah,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1861, 5.

4 Gilbert Clements to W. G. Mills, August 25, 1861, in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1957), 4:544n17.

5 “Secession Rebellion,” 1.

6 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1, vol. 50, part 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), 1023, (hereafter WOTR 1.1).

7 L. Thomas to George Wright, April 8, 1862, in WOTR 1.1, 1023.

8 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 3, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 27; (hereafter WOTR 3.2).

9 WOTR 3.2, 27.

10 WOTR 3.2, 449.

11 WOTR 3.2, 453.

12 Richard H. Orton, ed., *Records of California Men in the War of Rebellion, 1861–1867* (Sacramento: State Office, 1890), 2.

13 Special Orders No. 115, Headquarters Department of the Pacific, San Francisco, CA, July 5, 1862, Richard C. Drum, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1, vol. 50, part 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), 5–6; (hereafter WOTR 1.2).

14 Special Orders No. 115, in WOTR 1.2, 5–6.

15 George Wright to L. Thomas, December 15, 1862, in WOTR 1.1, 181.

16 “Memoranda in Relation to Camp Douglas, U. T. furnished by Gen. P. E. Connor,” in Brigham D. Madsen, *Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 65.



The Fort Douglas Cemetery was established in December 1862 under the direction of the first commanding officer, Colonel Patrick Edward Connor. On February 25, 1863, the first funeral services were held for those soldiers who fell during the battle of Bear River. James Duane Doty, Utah Territorial Governor from 1863 to 1865, was buried on June 15, 1865. General Connor was laid to rest on December 21, 1891. Officers and men who have died in the service of their country laid to rest at the Fort Douglas Cemetery represent the Civil War, Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Also interred are 21 German prisoners of war from WWI and 20 German, 12 Italian, and 1 Japanese prisoners of war from WWII.

- 17 "Affairs in Utah," *New York Times*, September 7, 1862, 3.
 18 WOTR 1.2, 119.
 19 WOTR 1.2, 143. Stenhouse states, "There is no truth in this." (See T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* [London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, 1874], 602.)
 20 See Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:543.
 21 "Affairs in Utah," *New York Times*, November 15, 1862, 2.
 22 "Arrival of Col. Connor's Command," *Deseret News*, October 22, 1862.
 23 WOTR 1.2, 195.
 24 See "Comments," *Deseret News*, September 2, 1857.
 25 "Affairs in Utah," *New York Times*, July 8, 1861, 2.
 26 WOTR 1.2, 244.
 27 WOTR 1.2, 245.
 28 WOTR 1.2, 315.
 29 WOTR 1.2, 326.
 30 "Affairs in Utah," *New York Times*, November 23, 1862, 5.

The Fort Douglas Post Chapel

was built in 1884 at a cost of \$4,500. Architects designed the frame building in Gothic Revival style with an asymmetrical design, corner bell tower, and arched windows rarely seen on military posts. The Post Chapel has been restored to serve as an interfaith center for multi-denominational use by students, campus organizations, alumni, community groups, and friends.



- 31 "Affairs in Utah," *New York Times*, December 21, 1862, 2.
 32 "Affairs in Utah," *New York Times*, February 8, 1863, 2.
 33 "Third District Federal Court," *Deseret News*, April 15, 1863.
 34 "Arrest of Brigham Young for Polygamy," *Deseret News*, March 11, 1863.
 35 Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:273.
 36 "The Pacific Telegraph Line," *New York Times*, October 19, 1861, 5.
 37 WOTR 1.2, 369.
 38 WOTR 1.2, 119.
 39 WOTR 1.2, 319–20.
 40 WOTR 1.2, 319.
 41 WOTR 1.2, 257.
 42 WOTR 1.2, 342.
 43 WOTR 1.2, 257.
 44 WOTR 1.2, 656.
 45 WOTR 1.2, 320.
 46 WOTR 1.2, 656–57.
 47 "Utah: The Treasure House of the Nation," Utah Mining Association, <http://www.utah-mining.org/brochure.htm>.
 48 WOTR 1.2, 657.
 49 WOTR 1.2, 846.
 50 WOTR 1.2, 656.
 51 WOTR 1.2, 371.
 52 Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 10:107, 109, 111.
 53 WOTR 1.2, 371.
 54 WOTR 1.2, 344.
 55 WOTR 1.2, 371.
 56 WOTR 1.2, 372.
 57 WOTR 1.2, 347.
 58 WOTR 1.2, 369.
 59 WOTR 1.2, 369.
 60 WOTR 1.2, 546.
 61 WOTR 1.2, 547–48.
 62 WOTR 1.2, 581.
 63 WOTR 1.2, 584.
 64 "The Mormon Question—Its Easy and Peaceful Solution," *New York Times*, November 28, 1865, 4.
 65 "Death and Funeral of General P. E. Connor," *Deseret News*, December 26, 1891.

April 9, 1865

Robert E. Lee surrenders at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia, beginning an end to the war that took the lives of approximately 750,000 soldiers and civilians.



THE Bear River Massacre



Artwork by Lynn Faucett on display at the Fort Douglas Museum.



Precursors and Aftermath

BY KENNETH L. ALFORD

Excerpts from *Civil War Saints*, Kenneth L. Alford, ed. (Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University in cooperation with Deseret Book Co., Salt Lake City, 2012), 216–21.

Connor's disciplinarian Indian policy was forcibly demonstrated at the Battle of Bear River (now referred to as the Bear River Massacre). Several historians have argued that given the circumstances of that time, the massacre was probably inevitable. Six weeks before the battle, a report in the *Deseret News* expressed hope that "the Indians [will be] so thoroughly whipped that they will retire into the bannock country [in Idaho], there to remain during the winter."¹

A few weeks before the battle, thousands of Indians had assembled in the area to hold a Warm Dance to "drive out the cold of winter and hasten the warmth of spring." Most of the Indians left the area following the Warm Dance ceremonies. If Connor had attacked earlier, many more Indians presumably would have been killed.

Two weeks before the battle, there were reports of murders committed by Indians "to avenge the blood of their comrades, who were killed by the soldiers" during the previous fall.² The day before the battle, the *Deseret News* reported that Colonel Connor and four companies of cavalry had marched through Salt Lake City "with the expectation, no doubt, of surprising the Indians."³

Some Indians reportedly escaped prior to the attack. During the night of January 27, 1863, an older Indian by the name of Tindup "foresaw the calamity which was about to take place. In a dream he saw his people being

killed by pony soldiers. He told others of his dream and urged them to move out of the area that night." Some families believed him, left the area, and survived.⁴

Early in the morning of January 29, 1863, with Colonel Connor commanding, soldiers attacked and killed at least 224 Indians; only 14 soldiers were lost. The Utah historian Hubert Howe Bancroft observed, "Had the savages committed this deed, it would pass into history as a butchery or a massacre."⁵ Commended by General Henry W. Halleck, U.S. army general-in-chief, for his "heroic conduct and brilliant victory on Bear River," Connor was promoted to brigadier general.⁶

Less than one week after the battle, the *Deseret News* reported that "Col. Connor and the Volunteers who went north last week to look after the Indians on the Bear River have, in a very short space of time, done a larger amount of Indian killing than ever fell to the lot of any single expedition of which we have any knowledge."⁷

In December 1863, Amos Reed, the territory's acting governor, claimed that the soldiers had achieved a "termination of hostilities and depredations by the Indians," but he informed the legislature that the "condition of the Utah Indians in this Territory will [still] require your future attention. Roaming as they do through all our settlements south of this City, they are and have been since the settlement of the Territory, a great annoyance to, and a continual, burthensome tax upon the people."⁸

News of the massacre at Bear River spread quickly among both Indian and white populations, and it generally had the effect General





Connor desired. Several treaties were signed in rapid succession.

The federal government, “as a result of Utah’s unique situation, purposely allowed eighteen years to pass before extinguishing native title and providing for Indian removal to reservations. Even then, Congress authorized the move only because of an expected massive influx of gentiles into the territory.”⁹

Connor and others felt that subsequent events had justified the attack on Bear River. General Connor reported: “The policy pursued toward the Indians has had a most happy effect. . . . They fully understand that honesty and peace constitute their best and safest policy.”¹⁰ Yet by February 1865, just seven months later, General Connor reported that Indians had “again returned in increased force.”¹¹

An 1865 article in the *New York Times* commented on the continuing cycle of violence between Indians and white settlers: “The Indian’s wrath is poured out, with indiscriminate discrimination. . . . They will do a little stealing, get saucy, impudent presuming, and when very ‘mad’ will be cruel and kill.” The violent cycle sometimes escalated when “whites, irritated and provoked, even when the Indians do not murder, but steal only, shoot at the marauders, if a sight can be obtained of them.”¹² Utah’s 1865 superintendent of Indian affairs, Orsemus H. Irish, offered his view that the “cruelties practiced by hostile savages have prejudiced our people against the whole race. The emigrants . . . and

the officers and soldiers who are here for their protection, are almost entirely in favor of the extermination of all Indians. . . . Under my observation and within my own experience, *I know of only one case of Indian outrage and depredation that has not commenced in the misconduct of the whites.*”¹³

Utah’s Indian society went into a steady and irreversible decline after 1847 that culminated in marginalization on isolated reservations. The decades when white and Indian societies lived in close proximity brought successes and failures. Charity and violence were both in evidence as the cultures intermingled and attempted to live with each other. Benjamin Davies, an 1861 superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah, perhaps said it best when he inadvertently complimented the local Mormon population by noting that Utah’s Indians were “not so demoralized and corrupted as those who have been brought into closer association with white men in other localities.”¹⁴ It is difficult to envision how things could have ended differently. ▢

1 “Another Expedition after Indians,” *Deseret News*, December 10, 1862, 4.

2 “More Indian Murders,” *Deseret News*, January 14, 1863, 8.

3 “Expedition for the Arrest of Indian Chiefs,” *Deseret News*, January 28, 1863, 4.

4 Clifford Duncan, “The Northern Utes of Utah,” in *A History of Utah’s American Indians*, ed. Forrest S. Cuch (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs and Division of History; 2003), 34.

5 Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 631–32.

6 Report of Col. P. Edward Connor, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1, vol. L, part 2 (Washington, DC:





The Bear River Indian camp was located in Franklin County, Idaho.

Government Printing Office, 1880–1900), 187; (hereafter *WOTR* 1).

7 “The Fight with the Indians,” *Deseret News*, February 4, 1863, 5.

8 Amos Reed, “Governor’s Message,” December 14, 1863, in *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah. Thirteenth Annual Session, for the Years 1863–64* (Salt Lake City: Elias Smith, 1864), 18.

9 John Alton Peterson, *Utah’s Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998), 29.

10 P. Edw. Connor to Lieut. Col. R. C. Drum, July 1, 1864. *WOTR* 1, 887.

11 P. E. Connor to Col. R. C. Drum, February 10, 1865, *WOTR* 1, 1131.

12 “From Utah,” *New York Times*, June 30, 1865, 2.

13 O. H. Irish to D. N. Cooley, “Utah Superintendency,” September 9, 1865, in *Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs . . . 1865*, 147.

14 Benjamin Davies to Wm. P. Dole, “Utah Superintendency,” June 30, 1861, in *Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs . . . 1861*, 133.

New Historical Evidence

By Harold Schindler

Controversy has dogged the Bear River Massacre from the first. The event in question occurred on January 29, 1863, when volunteer soldiers under Colonel Patrick Edward Connor attacked a Shoshoni camp on the Bear River, killing nearly 300 men, women, and children. The bloody encounter was the culmination of years of increasing

tension between whites and the Shoshonis, who, faced with dwindling lands and food sources, had resorted to theft in order to survive. By the time of the battle, confrontations between the once-friendly Indians and the settlers were common.

Connor set forth from Fort Douglas with nearly three hundred men, mostly cavalry, late in January 1863. . . .

When the soldiers appeared shortly after daybreak on January 27 [sic], the Shoshonis were waiting in their defenses.

About two-thirds of the command succeeded in fording ice-choked Bear River. While Connor tarried to hasten the crossing, Major [Edward] McGarry dismounted his troops and launched a frontal attack. It was repulsed with heavy loss. Connor assumed control and shifted tactics. . . . While detachments sealed off the head and mouth of the ravine, others swept down both rims, pouring a murderous enfilading fire into the lodges below. Escape blocked, the Shoshonis fought desperately in their positions until slain, often in hand-to-hand combat. Of those who broke free, many were shot while swimming the icy river. By mid-morning the fighting had ended.

On the battlefield the troops counted 224 bodies, including that of Bear Hunter,



and knew that the toll was actually higher. They destroyed 70 lodges and quantities of provisions, seized 175 Indian horses, and captured 160 women and children, who were left in the wrecked village with a store of food. The Californians had been hurt, too: 14 dead, 4 officers and 49 men wounded (of whom 1 officer and 6 men died later), and 75 men with frostbitten feet. Even so, it had been a signal victory, winning Connor the fulsome praise of the War Department and prompt promotion to brigadier general.¹

Controversies over the battle have tainted it ever since. For one thing, Chief Justice

John F. Kinney of the Utah Supreme Court had issued warrants for the arrest of several Shoshoni chiefs for the murder of a miner. But critics have questioned whether the warrants could legally be served, since the chiefs were not within the court's jurisdiction.² The legality of the federal writs was irrelevant to Colonel Connor. He announced that he was satisfied that these Indians were among those who had been murdering immigrants for the previous 15 years. Because of their apparent role as "principal actors and leaders in the horrid massacres of the past summer, [he] determined . . . to chastise them if possible." He told U.S. Marshal Isaac L. Gibbs that "it was not intended to have any prisoners."³

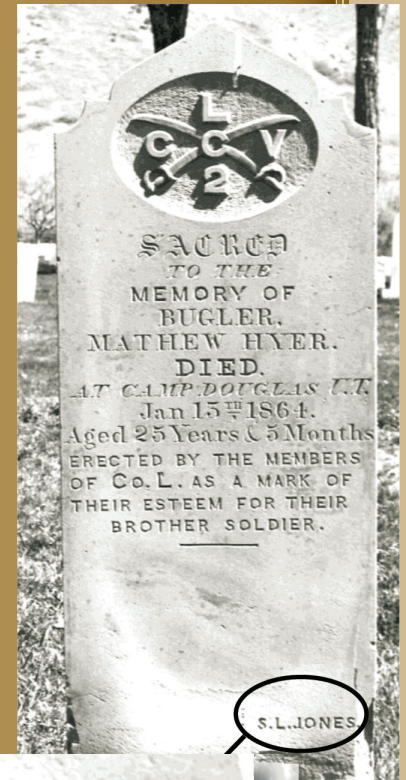
This monument at Fort Douglas erected in memory of the soldiers who were killed in the Bear River conflict reflects the perception at the time of these men as heroes. Photo courtesy Utah State Historical Society.



Samuel Lane Jones

(1828–1891)

Funded by donations from the officers and the men of the California Volunteers, a local Mormon stone mason named Samuel L. Jones was hired to craft the Bear River Monument and to engrave the red sandstone headstones for the cemetery. Jones's name appears at the bottom of many of the headstones, including this one erected for bugler Mathew Hyer, who died at Camp Douglas in 1864.



S.L. JONES,

Recently discovered evidence addresses a more fundamental aspect of the encounter that ultimately claimed the lives of 23 soldiers and nearly 300 American Indians. We have that information from a participant, Sergeant William L. Beach of Company K, 2nd Cavalry Regiment, California Volunteers, who wrote an account and sketched a map just 16 days after the engagement.

The sergeant specifically describes the point at which the soldiers broke through the Shoshoni fortifications and rushed "into their very midst when the work of death commenced in real earnest." Beach watched as the tide of battle fluctuated until a desperate enemy finally sought to surrender.

Midst the roar of guns and sharp report of Pistols could be heard the cry for quarters but there was no quarters that day. . . .

The "cry for quarters" fell upon deaf ears as the bloody work continued.

In his account, the cavalry sergeant also provided valuable insights concerning the movement of troops as the attack took shape; he carefully recorded the position of each unit and located the Indian camp and its defenders on a map. From his map, historians learn for the first time that some of the Shoshonis broke from the fortified ravine on horseback.⁴

The manuscript and map came to light in February 1997 when Jack Irvine, a collector of Northwest documents and photographs, telephoned Brigham D. Madsen, University of Utah emeritus professor of history, and told him that he had collected Sergeant Beach's narrative and map. He [Irvine] sent the historian a photocopy.

Madsen says the papers can "emphasize and strengthen the efforts of the National Park Service to bring recognition, at last, to the site of this tragic event, which was the bloodiest killing of a group of Native Americans in the history of the American Far West."

Madsen's comment points to the fact that although Bear River has long been considered the largest Indian massacre in the Far West, scholars and writers continue to deny the encounter its rightful place in frontier history. Beach confirms the magnitude of the massacre when he cites the enemy loss at "two hundred and eighty Killed." This number would not include those individuals shot while attempting to escape across the river, whose bodies were swept away and could not be counted.⁵ Sergeant Beach's narrative and map are singularly important for what they add to the record. Here is his account as he penned it:

This View
Represents the
Battlefield
on Bear

Diary Entry

River fought Jan. 29th /'63 Between four companies of the Second Cavalry and one company third Infantry California Volunteers under Colonel Conner And three hundred and fifty Indians under Bear hunter, Sagwich and Lehigh [Lehi] three very noted Indian chiefs. The Newspapers give a very graphic account of the Battle all of which is very true with the exception of the positions assigned the Officers which Cos K and M cavalry were first on the ground.

When they had arrived at the position they occupy on the drawing Major McGary [Edward McGarry] gave the commands to dismount and prepare to fight on foot which was instantly obeyed. Lieutenant [Darwin] Chase and Capt. [George F.] Price then gave the command forward to their respective companies after which no officer was heeded or needed The Boys were fighting Indians and intended to whip them. It was a free fight every man on his own hook. . . . Cavalry Horses were sent back to

bring the Infantry across the River as soon as they arrived. When across they took a double quick until they arrived at the place they occupy on the drawing they pitched in California style every man for himself and the Devil for the Indians. The Colonels Voice was occasionally heard encouraging the men telling them to take good aim and save their ammunition. . . .

The Indians were soon routed from the head of the ravine and apparently anticipated a general stampede but were frustrated in their attempt. . . . Seeing that death was their doom they made a desperate stand in the lower end of the Ravine where it appeared like rushing on to death to approach them. But the victory was not yet won. With a deafening yell the infuriated Volunteers with one impulse made a rush down the steep banks into their very midst when the work of death commenced in earnest. Amidst the roar of guns and sharp report of Pistols could be heard the cry for quarters but there was no quarters that day. Some jumped into the river and were shot attempting to cross some mounted their ponies and attempted to run the gauntlet in different directions but were shot on the wing while others ran down the River (on a narrow strip of ice that bridged the shores) to a small island and a thicket of willows below where they [found] a very unwelcome reception by a few of the boys who were waiting the approach of stragglers. It was hardly daylight when the fight commenced and freezing cold the valley was covered with snow. . . . The fight lasted four hours and appeared more like a frolic than a fight the wounded cracking jokes with the frozen some frozen so bad that they could not load their guns used them as clubs. . . . The report is current that there were three hundred of the Volunteers engaged.

. . . Our loss—fourteen killed and forty two wounded Indian Loss two hundred and eighty Killed. . . .

Sgt. W. L. Beach Co. K, 2nd c. C. V
Camp Douglas. Feb. 14th /63

I received six very severe wounds in my coat. W. L. Beach

Beach had enlisted in the California Volunteers on December 8, 1861, in San Francisco. After his hitch was up, he was mustered out at San Francisco on December 18, 1864.⁶ After that, Sergeant William L. Beach may have faded away as old soldiers do, but his recollections of that frigid and terrible day in 1863 will now live forever in Utah annals.

This article originally appeared in the Fall 1999 issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly* and is reprinted by permission of the Utah State Historical Society. 

1 Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848–1865* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 223–24.

2 The Bear River Indian camp, located 12 miles north of the Franklin settlement, was in Washington Territory.

3 “Report of Col. P. Edward Connor, Third California Infantry, commanding District of Utah,” *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), 185.

4 In the past, the belief was that the warriors had been cut off from their herd of ponies.

5 Most histories of the American West mention the massacres at Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1864; Washita, Indian Territory, in 1868; Marias River in 1870; Camp Grant, Arizona, in 1871; and Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890. Body counts vary widely in these histories, but typical numbers of Indian fatalities are Sand Creek, 150; Washita, 103; Marias River, 173; Camp Grant, 100–128; and Wounded Knee, 150–200.

6 See Brigadier General Richard H. Orton, comp., *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1867* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1890), 178–79, 275.



The Bear River Massacre Monument

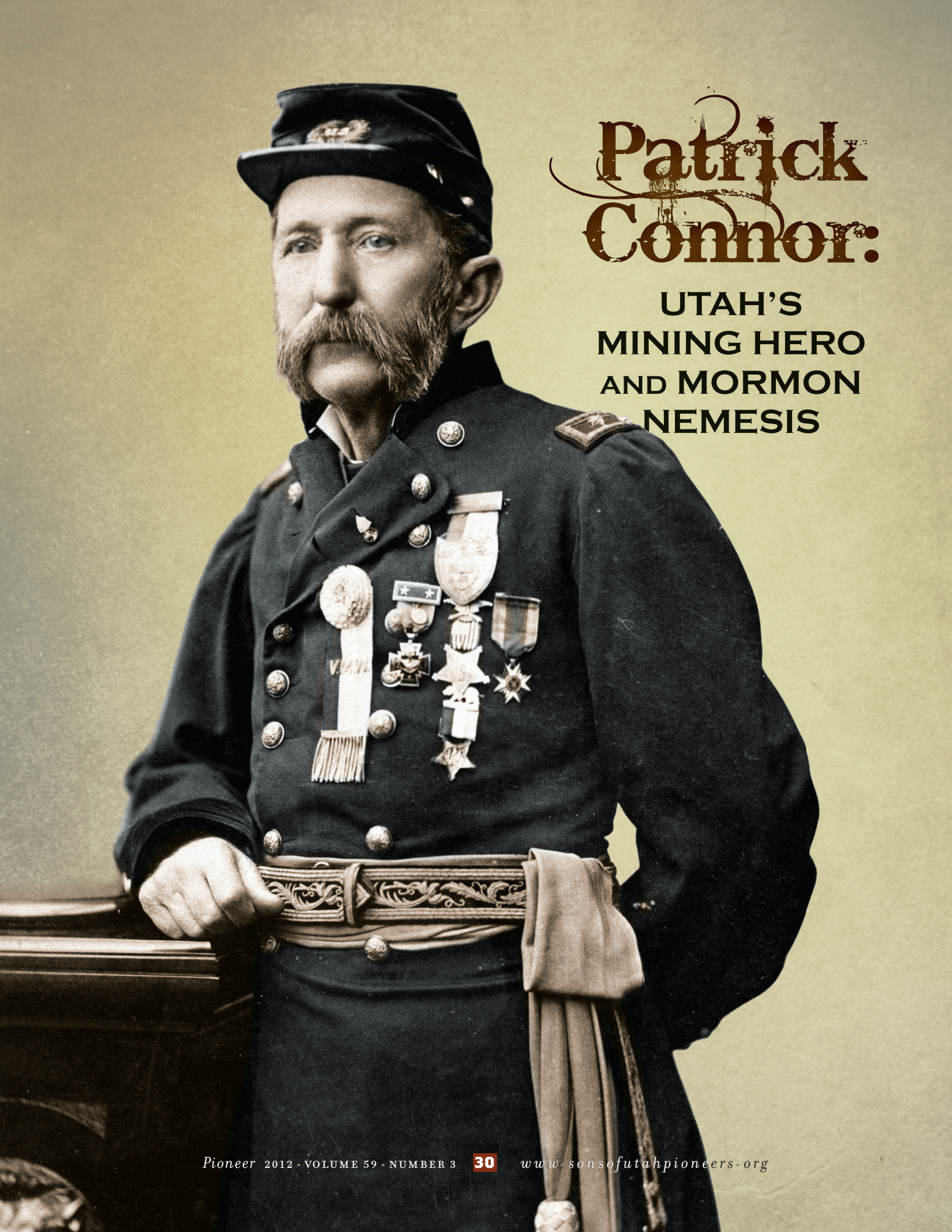
is located near U.S. Route 91 where Battle Creek joins the Bear River in Franklin County, Idaho. Proceed north 2.5 miles out of Preston on U.S. 91 to milepost 13.1.



The site was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1990 and is being considered for National Monument status. Currently there is a pullout marked by a stone monument. Several brass plaques and markers relate the history of the event. As of 2006, an overlook with parking, pathway, and interpretive signs is in place across the Bear River.

See <http://byways.org/explore/byways/2049/places/30201/>

The Daughters of Utah Pioneers Bear River Massacre Monument Plaque. No. 186 (top right) reads: *Attacks by the Indians on the peaceful inhabitants of this vicinity led to the final battle here January 29, 1863. The conflict occurred in deep snow and bitter cold. Scores of wounded and frozen soldiers were taken from the battlefield to the Latter-day Saint community of Franklin. Here pioneer women trained through trials and necessity of frontier living accepted the responsibility of caring for the wounded until they could be removed to Camp Douglas, Utah. Two Indian women and three children, found alive after the encounter, were given homes in Franklin.* ▼

A full-length portrait of Patrick Connor, a man with a thick mustache and a dark cap, wearing a dark military uniform with numerous medals and a decorative belt. He is standing with his right hand on a wooden railing.

Patrick Connor:

UTAH'S
MINING HERO
AND MORMON
NEMESIS

BY ROBERT S. VOYLES

Director, Fort Douglas Military Museum

During the second half of the 19th century, two men were arguably the two most influential individuals in Utah. Brigham Young is one of the most well-known personality from this period. From the time of his arrival in the Great Salt Lake Valley until his death in 1877, he was a larger-than-life figure who directed the development of Deseret and later Utah Territory.

The other influential person was an Irish immigrant, a Mexican War veteran, a Civil War general, a famous fighter of Indians, and is today known as the "Father of Utah Mining." He was Catholic, anti-Mormon, and anti-polygamy. His name was Patrick Edward Connor (changed from O'Connor when he migrated to the United States). He preferred to be known as P. Edward Connor, likely because Pat, or "Paddy," was at that time a derogatory term used to label male Irish immigrants.

Connor was born on St. Patrick's Day, 1820, in Kerry County, Ireland. He immigrated to New York City with his parents around 1832. After working as a laborer, he enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1839 and was assigned to the 1st Regiment of Dragoons. His commanding officer in Company I was Captain James Allen.

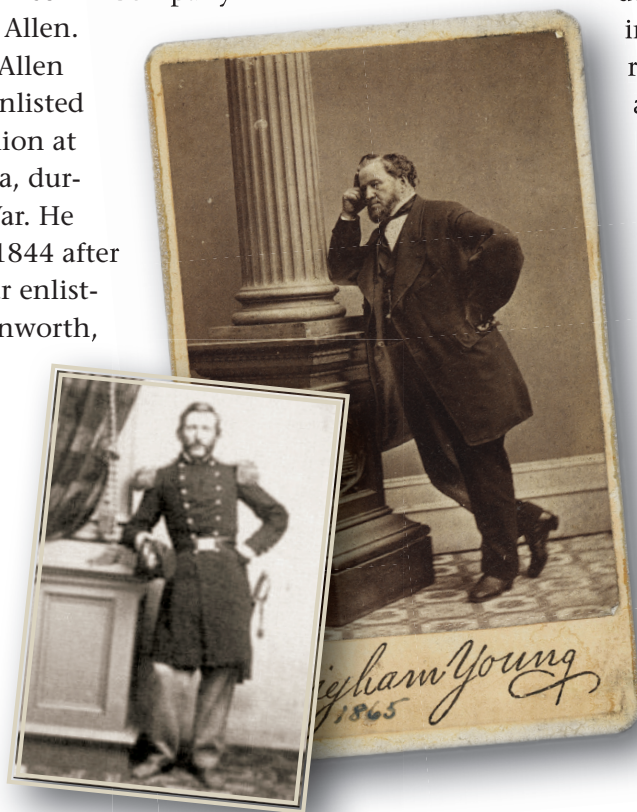
This was the same Allen who in July 1846 enlisted the Mormon Battalion at Mount Pisgah, Iowa, during the Mexican War. He was discharged in 1844 after serving his five-year enlistment at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and Fort Des Moines, Iowa. He returned to New York City, changed his name to Connor, and was naturalized as a U.S. citizen. He moved to Texas in 1846, and when the

war with Mexico broke out he joined the 1st Regiment, Texas Foot Rifles. As a footnote in Mormon history, his regimental commander was Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, who later led the U.S. Army expedition into Utah Territory during the Utah War. Connor was mustered out on August 4, 1846, but immediately reenlisted into a separate Texas Volunteer company. On February 23, 1847, the company participated in the Battle of Buena Vista, in which Connor was severely wounded. He was discharged on May 24, 1847, due to this wound. He then moved to California, where he became a very successful contractor. While living in Stockton he was subjected to forceful denunciations made in California newspapers about Utah Mormons as a result of the Utah War. This may have had an impact on his opinions about Mormonism, which were later such an influential part of his life.

The troops entered Salt Lake City on October 20, 1862, and after marching through the city established Camp Stephen A. Douglas at the mouth of Red Butte Canyon. Antagonism between Presi-

dent Young and Colonel Connor began immediately, especially after Connor required all sellers of goods to the army to take an oath of loyalty.

While soldiers and Mormons were working out their relationship, trouble with the Northwest Shoshoni increased. After a series of skirmishes Colonel Connor led an expedition to Bear River in Idaho and attacked a band of approximately 500 Shoshoni under Chief Bear Hunter (see pages 22–28 of this issue). This tragedy would taint his reputation with modern historians, but during his lifetime Connor was deeply admired as one of America's great Indian fighters. He was promoted to Brigadier General of Volunteers in March of 1863.



Returning to Camp Douglas, he immersed himself in the daily affairs of Gentile versus Mormon. President Young pressed for the removal of soldiers from Fort Douglas, and Connor signed a counter petition to Lincoln to retain them. Connor accused the Mormons of inciting the Indians against non-Mormons. He endeavored to establish an anti-Mormon settlement as a refuge for all who desired to leave The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and on May 5, 1863, he personally escorted 160 Morrisites from Camp Douglas to Soda Springs, Idaho, where many of their descendants still live.

Additional friction developed when Mormon merchants began selling supplies to the army at

Camp Douglas. President Young responded by excommunicating many of them.

This was also the time that Connor decided to encourage Gentile immigration into Utah through the discovery of precious minerals. He encouraged his soldiers (many of whom had been miners) to prospect. He also sponsored the first daily newspaper in the Territory, *The Union Vedette*, with a debut issue addressing mineral development.

The first big discovery of precious minerals occurred on September 27, 1863, when George B. Ogilvie and several Mormon cattle herders found an outcropping containing silver in the Oquirrh Mountains. Ogilvie took samples to Connor, and Connor asked him to locate the mine in the name

Excerpts from a letter ...

General Patrick Connor to the War Department in Washington, D.C.:



CAMP DOUGLAS, UTAH TERRITORY,
Near Great Salt Lake City, July 21st, 1864.

Colonel:

My policy in this Territory has been to invite hither a large Gentile and loyal population, sufficient by peaceful means and through the ballot-box to overwhelm the Mormons by mere force of numbers, and thus wrest from the Church—disloyal and traitorous to the core—the absolute and tyrannical control of temporal and civil affairs, or at least a population numerous enough to put a check on the Mormon authorities. . . . With this view, I have bent every energy and means of which I was possessed, both personal and official, towards the discovery and development of the mining resources of the Territory. . . . Mines of undoubted richness have been discovered, their fame is spreading east and west . . . and the number of miners of the Territory are steadily and rapidly increasing. With them, and to supply their wants, merchants and traders are flocking into Great Salt Lake City, which by its activity, increased number of Gentile stores and workshops, and the appearance of its thronged and busy streets, presents a most remarkable contrast to the Salt Lake of one year ago.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
P. EDW. CONNOR,
Brig.-Genl U. S. Vol. Commanding District.

See <http://utahrails.net/bingham/conner-letters.php>
and Pioneer magazine 2004, vol. 51, #2.

The transcontinental railroad was completed in May 1869, which meant that troops from Camp Douglas could be quickly transported to the scene of conflict in a matter of days instead of weeks. The twin defeats of Custer and Crook in 1876 resulted in a call for reinforcements, and in late June, four companies of the 14th Infantry boarded a train for Wyoming to join General George Crook's command.



of the Jordan Silver Mining Company. Ogilvie was immediately denounced by Church officials as an apostate. Another sample was found by the wife of the physician at Camp Douglas while on a picnic. The claims were staked, and the potential shareholders met at the Jordan Ward House near Bishop Archibald Gardner's mill to organize the West Mountain Quartz Mining District. This was the beginning of many more discoveries, claims, and mining districts that would extend from Rush Valley and the Oquirrh Mountains to southern Utah and into Nevada. Through this development, Connor eventually became known as the "Father of Utah Mining."

As a further encouragement to induce Gentiles into Utah, General Connor established the first non-Mormon settlement in Rush Valley, south of Tooele, and named it Stockton, after his hometown in California. He had it surveyed on May 19, 1864. The town contained 811 lots and was large enough to accommodate 10,000 people. By December of that year there were 38 buildings, a sawmill, and two furnaces in operation. By the end of the year, hundreds of mining claims had been recorded in the Rush Valley District. In 1881 Connor installed an electric lighting system; Stockton became the first town in Utah to be electrified.

Connor's campaign to flood Utah with Gentile miners was met with a counter campaign from President Young. Working with his territorial delegate, John Kinney, Young sent a letter to the general-in-chief, Henry W. Halleck, requesting that the troops stationed at Camp Douglas be withdrawn. General

Connor countered with his own letter to Halleck detailing the reasons the troops should remain. The soldiers remained.

General Connor continued his military career as the commander of the Utah Military District. He was later appointed commander of the Military District of the Plains, a position that was created specifically for him by the War Department, and given command of the 1865 Powder River expedition to pacify the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe tribes in Wyoming and Montana. The campaign was fraught with difficulties and was finally terminated in October 1865 with no significant results. Connor was ordered back to Utah from Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

General Connor ended his military career in his typical fashion—with controversy. After a series of hero's welcomes in Denver, Salt Lake City, and Camp Douglas, he pressed his superiors for an increase in troop strength to 4,000 in order to protect the approximately 300 Gentiles in the Territory. He also had to answer charges of signing fraudulent contracts and bypassing army regulations to obtain supplies for Camp Douglas. However, the event that angered President Young the most was Connor's testimony to the Congressional Committee on Territories while he was on a trip back east in the spring of 1866. The committee was investigating "The Condition of Utah."

Connor made four serious accusations against the Mormons: (1) one-third of the adult population of the Territory practiced polygamy, in violation of the Act of 1862; (2) the Mormon system taught



By 1876, Gothic-style sandstone homes started going up all over Fort Douglas. This photograph shows the view looking south from one of the officer's residences. The building on the right is the post administration office, which later became the Officers' Club. Next to that is one of the barracks on the north side of the parade field. The houses on the left are officers' quarters on Officers' Circle. Historical photos (30–35) courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

disloyalty to and treason against the government; (3) the Mormon leaders justified homicide through the use of Danite bands; and (4) the Mormons opposed the development of mines in Utah.

Connor further suggested disenfranchising and making ineligible for office all Mormons who had entered into polygamy and stationing 2,000 troops in Utah to ensure protection for Gentiles and those wishing to sever their connections with the Mormon church. Following this testimony, Connor was mustered out of federal service with the rank of brevet major general.

This testimony earned him the further enmity of President Young. Both he and his family received death threats. Consequently, he decided to move from his house on 500 South between 100 East and Main Street to Stockton, Utah. From there he could continue to develop his mining interests in Rush Valley. He eventually concluded that it would be best for him to return to Stockton, California, with his family and continue developing the contracting business he had left there in 1862. He returned to California in April 1867.

Throughout 1867 and 1868 Connor built up his business interests in California while also maintaining his Utah mining operations. In anticipation of the approach of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, he launched a steamboat

on the Jordan River to transport railroad ties and telephone poles across the Great Salt Lake to sell to the Union Pacific. This led to his next major project: the establishment of a town at the mouth of Bear River to transport ore from Stockton across the Great Salt Lake to the new town. From there a railroad was planned to meet the Union Pacific in northern Utah. The selected town site was named Connor City. The name was changed to Corinne in honor of the daughter of J. A. Williamson, who was appointed the Union Pacific auction agent selling the proposed city lots. Corinne became a landing site for Connor's steamboat. Unfortunately for Connor, Brigham Young organized the Utah Central Railroad to go from Salt Lake City to Ogden and then farther on to a connection with the Union Pacific.

General Connor continued to expand his mining interests. With the Nevada mining rush of 1870 he expanded his investments to include Pioche, Eureka, and Ely. The year 1870 was also very significant to Connor for other reasons. A new governor, J. Wilson Shaffer, was appointed. He was a man of iron will and strong detestation of anything Mormon. He came to Utah determined to reduce the influence of Brigham Young. In a move to ensure that the Nauvoo Legion (the territorial militia) came under the control of the governor, he appointed

General Connor as its commander. Needless to say, most of the Legion refused to serve under his command. That year also saw the founding of the first political parties in Utah. The Liberal Party was formed, and Connor was elected as the temporary chairman. This was followed by a Latter-day Saint contingent forming the People's Party.

P. Edward Connor lived in Utah until his death in 1891. The year prior to his death marked the culmination of everything he had been fighting for since he coming to Utah. On September 20, 1889, he was appointed to command "the Liberal forces of the city with the rank of general!" Throughout the month of January 1890 there were Liberal Party celebrations every night in the streets. The People's Party followed suit. The streets became so congested that the respective party chairmen agreed to a street schedule, with the Liberals marching on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and the People's Party marching on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. In the February 10th election the Liberals won every office in Salt Lake City, from Mayor George M. Scott down. Then, on September 24, LDS Church President Wilford

U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes, the man standing at the top of the stairs, visited Fort Douglas in 1879. Retired general Patrick Connor is seated on the right at the top of the stairs. President Hayes was the first of many U.S. Presidents to visit Fort Douglas.



Woodruff issued the Woodruff Manifesto, ending the practice of polygamy. Thus, in the year before his death, Connor finally accomplished what he had struggled so hard to achieve.

General Connor died on December 16, 1891, in his room at the Walker House Hotel. His four sons were all present at the time of his death. He is buried at the Fort Douglas Cemetery. His wife, Joanna, had died two years earlier on July 7, 1889, in Redwood City, California. It is not easy to categorize P. Edward Connor. During his lifetime he was an extremely influential man in Utah Territory. Gentiles in the Territory considered him their protector. He is known as the "First Gentile of Utah," the "Father of Utah Mining," and the "Father of the Liberal party." He founded Fort Ruby in Nevada, Fort Douglas in Utah, Fort Connor (later Fort Reno) in Wyoming, two Utah towns (Stockton and Corinne), was recommended for appointment as governor of Utah, nominated for governor of Nevada, and ran for congress from Nevada. A natural leader, he was well liked, admired, and respected by many westerners of his day. He was ruthless as an Indian fighter and greatly esteemed for it at the time.

He also had a strong sense of honor. This is best illustrated by his offer to sign bonds up to \$100,000 to assist Brigham Young when Young was charged with bigamy and murder. He felt that the charges were unjust and expressed himself strongly against the prosecution facing Brigham Young. This was a stand of solidarity that Young never forgot. The two men never met, always being careful not to appear at the same place at the same time. The history of Utah from 1862 to 1891 cannot be told without the inclusion of General Patrick Edward Connor. Utahns would do well to learn more about his life and his role in shaping the state. ▮

Sources: David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847–1896* (Spokane, Washington; The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1998).

Everette B. Long, *The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War* (Urbana & Chicago, Ill.; Univ. of Illinois Press, 2001).

Brigham Madsen, *Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor* (Salt Lake City, Utah; Univ. of Utah Press, 1990).

_____, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City, Utah; Univ. of Utah Press, 1985).

BRASS KNUCKLES *AND* BILLY CLUBS:

The Controversial Arrest of Private Frederick Bright, 1874

BY EPHRIAM D. DICKSON III

Curator, Fort Douglas Military Museum

Maintaining discipline on a military post sometimes required placing soldiers under arrest. "The guardhouse!" lamented Private H. H. McConnell. "How many soldiers are there who, at some time or another, have not found themselves inside its walls! For sooner or later, for some offense, real or fancied, the best of soldiers may be caught tripping" and thereby placed in confinement. While most soldiers did their duties well and without incident, every military post had a small number of men who created trouble.

When Colonel P. Edward Connor established Camp Douglas near Salt Lake City in October 1862, one of the first substantial buildings constructed at the new post was a stone guardhouse. By 1863 the building included a general prison room, measuring 11 feet by 14 feet, as well as three tiny solitary confinement cells, each just 5 feet wide by 6 feet long. An adjacent room provided a space for the guards. Inspections by the post surgeon frequently found the building overcrowded and unsanitary. On one

occasion the surgeon counted 12 men confined in the general prison room and 7 crammed into the three small cells. The smell was so bad that a prisoner complained he had vomited several times during the night.

Military court records show a wide range of offenses and punishments. Many soldiers were arrested for disobeying orders, while others were accused of stealing government property. Several were caught trying to desert. In 1863 Private James Scott, Third California Infantry, celebrated the Fourth of July too liberally and was taken to the guardhouse for drunkenness. When he resisted arrest and fought with his sergeant, additional charges were added. "Taking into consideration the latitude allowable for July 4," the military court still found Private Scott guilty, sentencing him to a \$30 fine, equivalent to two months' pay, and three months in the guardhouse doing hard labor. Fortunately, severe physical punishments such as flogging and branding had been outlawed in the army a year



before Camp Douglas was established, but fines and incarceration were liberally dealt out for offending soldiers.

Trouble with soldiers was not confined to Camp Douglas. Men in uniform frequently visited Salt Lake City, especially after payday, and conflict sometimes erupted there. A post commander later admitted that it was not surprising that soldiers sometimes “acted out” once they had escaped the restrictive military environment at Camp Douglas. The *Deseret News* frequently contained mentions of soldiers arrested for drunkenness or fighting.

These incidents presented a conundrum for the Salt Lake City Police Department. Was a soldier to be treated in the same manner as other citizens, arrested for his infraction and then brought before the justice of the peace? Or were the police required to simply return all uniformed troublemakers to the army and hope that they might be punished through the military court system? That was the question that finally reached a head in 1874 with the arrest of Private Frederick Bright, a case that ultimately went all the way to the Utah Supreme Court.

By the early 1870s the police typically arrested offending soldiers and held them in jail for the night. The following morning they were brought before the “police judge.” The typical punishment for drunkenness in Salt Lake City was a \$5 fine. Soldiers who were able to pay the fine at the time of the sentencing were released, while those who could not were forced to remain in incarceration until they had worked off their debt. One commanding officer from Camp Douglas complained that it was not an uncommon sight “to see men wearing the uniform of the Army working in the chain-gang on the public streets, with thieves, loafers, and common vagabonds.” A night in the city jail also meant that the soldier missed his morning roll call, an infraction that resulted in additional fines and punishment upon his return to the post. In 1874 the post commander at Camp Douglas, Lieutenant Colonel Henry A. Morrow, expressed his growing concern about how soldiers were treated in



Chief of Police

Andrew H. Burt

*Salt Lake City Police
Department*

Salt Lake City, citing rumors that his men were being “roughed up” by the police during their arrest. For example, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported in January 1874 that “several policemen made an assault on

three or four soldiers from Camp Douglas, in front of the theater, and beat them brutally on the face and head with brass knuckles, and dragged them to the station house covered with blood.” Police Chief Andrew Burt responded that many of these printed accounts were exaggerated. He explained that though his policemen did occasionally have to use force to make arrests of soldiers, most did not. He noted that soldiers sometimes resisted arrest, often shouting anti-Mormon slurs during the heated confrontation.

Trained as a lawyer before becoming an officer, Colonel Morrow decided to use the legal system to address his growing concern, but he needed a test case. Morrow issued an order to the officers at Camp Douglas that he was to be notified immediately of any new instances of harsh treatment by the local police. He did not have to wait long. On the evening of February 2, Private Henry E. Warrington was arrested for drunkenness. According to Warrington’s account, Police Chief Burt and another policeman beat him into submission with their fists, clubs, and brass knuckles, then fastened “nippers” to his wrists and physically dragged him to the city jail. The following day, the bruised private was taken before the police court and fined \$5 before being released to return to Camp Douglas. Colonel Morrow wrote privately to Chief Justice James B. McKean asking whether arrest warrants could be issued for the two police officers so that an inquiry could be made into their conduct. Colonel Morrow also questioned whether civil authorities had the jurisdiction to arrest soldiers for violating local ordinances. But the judge refused to intercede,

claiming that local police conduct was not a federal issue in which his court could act. Colonel Morrow needed to try a different approach.

Ten days later Morrow had a second chance. On February 12 Private Frederick Bright, a soldier in Company C 13th Infantry, was arrested for drunkenness, held overnight, and charged the traditional \$5 fine. Colonel Morrow responded by submitting a writ of habeas corpus, a legal action against unlawful imprisonment that required a prison official to bring the prisoner before a federal judge to review whether or not the person was incarcerated unjustly. The question of harsh arrest procedures may not have been a federal issue, but habeas corpus was. Colonel Morrow finally had his first hearing before Judge McKean.

On February 18, 1874, the case of Private Bright's arrest was argued before the Third District Court. After intense debate on both sides, Judge McKean ruled that the Salt Lake City Police Department did not have the right to arrest soldiers for violating city ordinances such as drunkenness. Salt Lake City officials appealed its case to the Utah Supreme Court.

The case finally made it before the court four months later in June 1874. By this time Private Bright had deserted from the army, but the case still moved forward, as both sides wanted the question of jurisdiction settled. The U.S. Army was represented by John R. McBride, a prominent non-Mormon Salt Lake City lawyer, while the city's perspective was represented by the territorial Attorney General and Mormon leader, Zerrubabel Snow.



*Lieutenant
Colonel*

**Henry A.
Morrow**

The local newspaper followed the case closely and congratulated both sides for their excellent arguments. After hearing all the testimony, the judges stated that they would consider the matter and announce their decision in the near future.

Ironically, on the same day that the Utah Supreme Court was hearing the case, another soldier was arrested by the Salt Lake City police. Unlike other cases involving drunkenness, Private Hackett's crime was more serious, having reportedly assaulted an elderly man downtown. This soldier was already known as a "hard case" who had been in and out of trouble with the army for some time. Colonel Morrow sent a formal request to civil authorities to surrender Private Hackett to the army so that he could be tried for this offense before a general court martial, but the police refused.

Weary of the long legal process and limited results, Colonel Morrow decided to act. On the morning of June 11, 1874, he ordered Captain Gordon to take 25 armed men from his cavalry company and proceed to the jail to demand the release of Private Hackett and if necessary, to physically remove him from incarceration. Word of the soldiers' approach brought a crowd of onlookers to gather outside the jail, eager to see the potential confrontation between the army and the Salt Lake City police. Even the territorial governor and a number of other officials came to observe.

Arriving at city hall, Captain Gordon ordered his men to dismount and pounded on the locked door. A police officer finally appeared but explained that both the judge and the jailer were absent, as were the keys to all the cells. No one there, the policeman explained, had the authority to release the prisoner. Captain Gordon then read his orders aloud so that the gathered crowd could hear that he had the authority to take the prisoner. Spying Private Hackett through a barred window in the basement, Gordon's men used their horses and a hook and chain from the nearby fire station to tear off the grating from several windows and finally extract the soldier. The cavalry company then cheered, much to the commanding officer's regret, as they rode away with their prisoner and headed up the hill to Camp Douglas.

Letters from Fort Douglas

by "Enfield," an unidentified member
of the command

Camp Douglas, October 29, 1862

We have reached the Mecca of our pilgrimage and are resting from our travels in full view of the City of the Saints, which, with its regular avenues, broad and bordered with silver leafed aspens, lies between us and the lake from which it takes its name. . . .

Our encampment, which is to be called Camp Douglas, is situated on the plateau at the foot of the mountains, to the eastward of and commanding a good view of the city some three miles distant, as well as the valley of the Jordan and Great Salt Lake beyond. Behind us are Red Bluff and Emigration Canyons, from which we are making efforts to procure supplies of fuel and timber for building the very primitive quarters which we are to occupy during the rigor of the coming winter. These will consist of an excavation some four feet deep, about thirteen feet square, raised by a wall of logs two feet above the surface, which will support the roof of dirt or the tents we are now using.

Camp Douglas, December 27, 1862

The camp is quiet—the men snuggled away in their dugouts, and officers, gathered well met with boon companions, are whiling away the hours until drum and bugle break the silence with the signal of "tattoo." All is dark without, and within a merry flame, leaping in the fireplace. . . . Camp Douglas, which was for a long time less a habitation than a name, and which during that period wore a semblance of terrible confusion, has now assumed form and system, and the debris of building material having been removed from the parade ground, it presents a neat if not an imposing appearance. On the right of the parade ground are quartered four companies of infantry; on the left the same number of cavalry companies; while connecting the two in the rear is the line of officers' quarters—edifices of very modest pretensions indeed—the whole fronting toward the west and looking down upon Salt Lake City. We are comfortable, and what more could we ask? ▢

Several days later, the Utah Supreme Court issued its verdict in the case of Private Bright. They acknowledged the 33rd Article of War, which required that soldiers guilty of capital crimes or violations of national or state laws were to be surrendered to civil authorities for trial. The court determined, however, that this did not apply to local ordinances, such as those prohibiting drunkenness and disorderly conduct. "It is clear, therefore," the court concluded, "that the civil authorities of Salt Lake City would have had no right to demand the surrender to them of the soldier Bright, to be tried for the offence charged, and it is equally clear that had they made such demand, the Commandant of Camp Douglas would have had no right to deliver him over to them." Therefore, the trial and sentence of Private Bright was "illegal, null and void."

But the court also addressed an important issue that concerned city officials. "Was this soldier, on leaving the camp and entering the city, at once superior to all control, save his perhaps uncontrollable appetite?" The court ruled that the post commander should station a provost guard in the city to arrest soldiers who violated city ordinances and charge them in military courts. They concluded that it was also permissible for the Salt Lake City police to take a soldier into custody, but that they should then surrender him to military authorities.

Over the next several decades, Fort Douglas continued to maintain a provost guard in downtown Salt Lake City, patrolling the streets at night in search of soldiers causing disturbances. Ultimately the military post and city officials found an accommodation, one that balanced the economic benefits that the army brought to the city businesses while also ensuring public safety. The case of Private Bright proved to be a watershed moment in the relations between military and civil leaders in Utah Territory. ▢

Historical photos (36–37) courtesy Utah State Historical Society; Morrow photo (38) courtesy Fort Douglas Museum.

A Military Court Martial

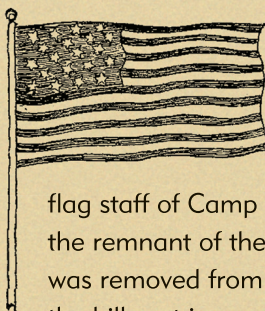
On March 29, 1863—five months after Camp Douglas was established on the bench overlooking Salt Lake City—Colonel Connor issued Post Order #27: “The frequency and number of marriages among the soldiers of this command has become an evil which threatens to be seriously detrimental to the interests of the service. It is therefore ordered, that in future, no soldier of this command will be permitted to marry and any soldier so offending will be punished for disobedience of orders.”

Four months later, Private Amon F. M. Taylor of Company F Third California Volunteer Infantry was arrested for marrying a local girl. Protesting that he was unaware of Connor’s order, Private Taylor explained his actions before a general court martial but was found guilty and sentenced to three months imprisonment doing hard labor. In forwarding the record of the court, the officers asked that the soldier’s sentence be remitted given that he had been absent from the post at the time the order had been issued. “It is believed that the promulgation of the sentence of the court will give sufficient warning to others that General Order No. 27, as well as all others of this Post, will be strictly enforced.” Private Taylor remained on duty at Camp Douglas until the end of the Civil War, but records do not indicate what became of his young bride. ▮



Did Brigham Young cut down the flag-staff at Fort Crittenden?

On October 1, 1862, a few days before entering the Utah Territory with his soldiers, Colonel Connor reported to his superiors that he had been “credibly informed by letter . . . that the flag-staff at Fort Crittenden was cut down since my visit and hauled away by Brigham’s orders.”



The historian B. H. Roberts reported that Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, the last commander at Fort Crittenden, “presented to Brigham Young the flag staff of Camp Floyd—Camp Crittenden. . . . After the remnant of the army was departed, the flag staff was removed from Fort Crittenden, and planted on the hillcrest immediately east of the Beehive House,” but Roberts did not mention the date when the actual removal occurred. (See Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:543).

In a 1907 address to the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Hiram B. Clawson provided additional details regarding President Young’s flagpole. “One evening, while sitting in front of the general’s tent [at the Camp],” he said, “I was attracted by a beautiful flag and staff and I was asked by the commanding officer [Colonel St. George Cooke], if I thought President Young would accept it. I assured him that he would not only accept it, but place it on his Salt Lake home, the ‘White House,’ and that on all national occasions the flag would be unfurled. They presented it; it was accepted and placed as stated.” (George D. Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse* [Salt Lake City: Seagull Press, 1928], 75).

(See *Salt Lake City: the Place Which God Prepared*, pages 184, 198.) ▮

2012 National Convention

The Brigham Young and Maple Mountain Chapters hosted the 2012 National SUP Convention at the Provo Marriott Hotel & Conference Center August 23–25. Approximately 280 registrants attended the convention, themed *Today's Pioneers on New Frontiers*.

On the first day of the convention, Richard Christiansen, National SUP President, conducted a leadership training meeting while member spouses participated in a humanitarian project, stuffing teddy bears for needy children. Clive Romney, Utah writer and performer, sang at the meeting. The evening dinner included music by Mississippi Mood. Ronald Walker, BYU professor emeritus, spoke about “Brigham Young, Courageous Frontiersman.”

Friday tours included the Western Desert and Nine-Mile Canyon near Price; and the sports facilities, broadcast center, and BYU Museum of Art. Sandra Rogers, BYU vice president for international relations, spoke to tour participants.

A history symposium included speakers Matt Grow, historian and author; Emily Utt, Church historical architect; Brent Ashworth, historian and collector of rare artifacts; and La Mar Adams, a foremost scholar on Isaiah.

Convention participants also visited the Provo Pioneer Village, sponsored and maintained by the Brigham Young SUP Chapter. On Friday evening everyone enjoyed a fine dinner accompanied by



The 2013 President-Elect, Bob Folkman, was born in Provo, Utah, and raised in Ogden. He served a mission to the Central Atlantic States, graduated from BYU in communications, and has been a resident of Brigham City for 26 years. He is eager to serve SUP in his new capacity and is looking forward to working on a vision and plan to build the future of the Sons of Utah Pioneers.

Dixieland jazz music. The guest speaker, Steven K. Peterson, managing director of Church welfare services, spoke on “Recovering the Stranded in Developing Nations.”

At Saturday’s meeting, Bob Folkman was elected the 2013 National SUP President. Spouses tasted pioneer cooking and enjoyed a display of pioneer quilts. Susan Morgan, a local professional vocalist, shared her beautiful music in the closing luncheon. Elder Steven E. Snow, Church Historian, spoke on “New Frontiers in LDS History.”

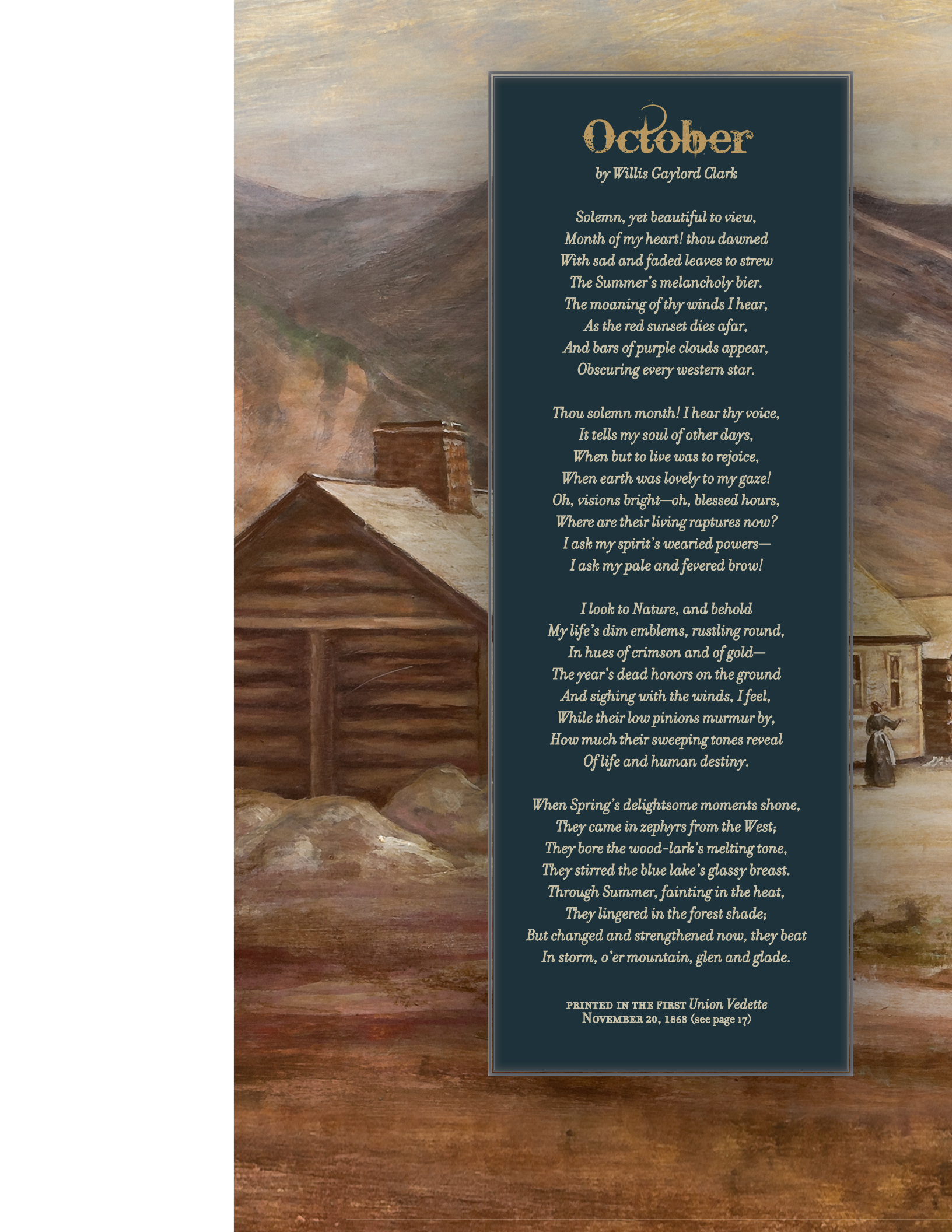
The 2013 National Convention will be held in Rexburg, Idaho, August 22–24.

Special Thanks

Pioneer magazine would like to extend a special thanks to **Ephriam Dickson III** for providing and suggesting content and images for this issue. Ephriam, a native of northwestern Nebraska, is curator of the Fort Douglas Museum in Salt Lake City, Utah, and graduate of Chadron State College. He has a long interest in the history of the Lakota and Northern Cheyenne and is intrigued with 19th-century Indian photographs and reservation census records. His recent work includes “Protecting the Home Front: The Utah Territorial Militia during the Civil War” in *Civil War Saints*, Kenneth L. Alford, ed. (BYU Religious Studies Center and Deseret Book, 2012).

Thank you, Ephriam!





October

by Willis Gaylord Clark

*Solemn, yet beautiful to view,
Month of my heart! thou dawned
With sad and faded leaves to strew
The Summer's melancholy bier.
The moaning of thy winds I hear,
As the red sunset dies afar,
And bars of purple clouds appear,
Obscuring every western star.*

*Thou solemn month! I hear thy voice,
It tells my soul of other days,
When but to live was to rejoice,
When earth was lovely to my gaze!
Oh, visions bright—oh, blessed hours,
Where are their living raptures now?
I ask my spirit's wearied powers—
I ask my pale and fevered brow!*

*I look to Nature, and behold
My life's dim emblems, rustling round,
In hues of crimson and of gold—
The year's dead honors on the ground
And sighing with the winds, I feel,
While their low pinions murmur by,
How much their sweeping tones reveal
Of life and human destiny.*

*When Spring's delightful moments shone,
They came in zephyrs from the West;
They bore the wood-lark's melting tone,
They stirred the blue lake's glassy breast.
Through Summer, fainting in the heat,
They lingered in the forest shade;
But changed and strengthened now, they beat
In storm, o'er mountain, glen and glade.*

PRINTED IN THE FIRST *Union Vedette*
NOVEMBER 20, 1863 (see page 17)